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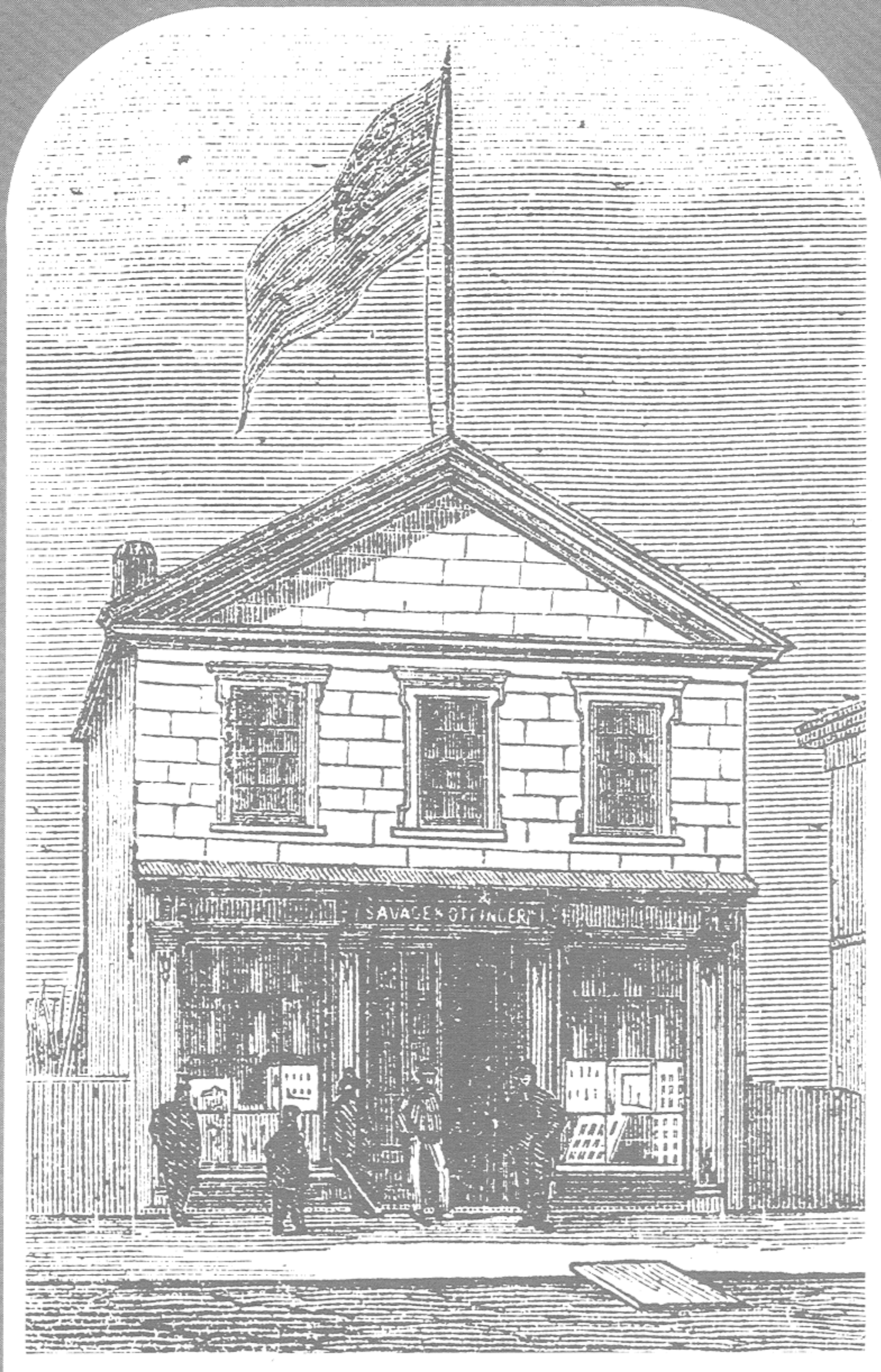
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BYU Studies

A VOICE FOR THE COMMUNITY OF LDS SCHOLARS



WINTER 1969

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VOLUME IX

WINTER 1969

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Israel in Conflict

DANIEL H. LUDLOW*

Today when one thinks of Israel in conflict, he most probably thinks of the now famous Six-Day War in June of 1967 when Israel won an astounding military victory over three of her most militant enemies—Egypt, Jordan, and Syria. In this brief period Israel gained possession of the entire city of Jerusalem, her ancient capital, and conquered a land area of approximately 18,000 square miles, thus extending her land possessions by two and one-half times.

To the casual observer these military feats by Israel should have solved most of her problems, especially the most pressing problem of external military security. To the more careful observer, however, it is obvious that Israel's military victory has in reality solved none of her problems except possibly to ease the immediate military threat of national annihilation. Subsequent events have proved that Israel's victory did little to solve her pressing political, economic, and social problems, and at best, it gave her only a brief respite from her problem of external military security. It actually greatly increased her problem of internal security. Israel remains today as she has been since she became an independent nation over twenty years ago, a nation in conflict.

Of all the nations on the earth, Israel should be used to such conflicts. The area that Israel now occupies has been claimed by many groups throughout the centuries; the control of Jerusalem itself has changed hands about thirty times among over twenty nations since the time Jerusalem was first mentioned in history.

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Though the Jewish people claim to have lived in Eretz Israel for about 4,000 years, their stay has not been unchallenged or autonomous. They were ruled by the Babylonians, themselves, Persians, Greeks, Asmoneans, Romans, Byzantines, Arabs, Seljuks, Christian Crusaders, Mamelukes, and Turks from about 590 B.C. to 1917 A.D. In the Balfour Declaration of that year, the British gave at least sympathetic support to the goals of the Zionist movements which started in the latter nineteenth century. Even though the declaration provided for *a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine*, it did not specify that Palestine would be *the national home of the Jewish people*. Such was not the general interpretation, especially among the Jewish people, and Jewish immigration rose sharply.

ISRAELI DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

The 1947 U.N. resolution for the partitioning of Palestine and the withdrawing of the British on May 14, 1948, was met with an Israel declaration of independence which brought almost immediate war with her Arab neighbors. Much to the surprise of the rest of the world, the infant state fought back strongly, forcing Arab retreats on all fronts except at Jerusalem. As separate armistice agreements were worked out to end open hostilities, Jewish immigration figures continued to climb. Within four years of Israel's independence, she had almost 700,000 persons immigrate, more than thirty-three percent of her entire population by 1951.

The flood of immigration continued, and at the end of 1966 Israel's population had risen to more than 2.3 million. Of this 1.7 million increase, .6 million came from natural reproduction, but the additional 1.1 million came from immigration from nearly 100 different countries. These new immigrants brought with them not only problems associated with their individual lives, but also additional problems which were introduced into the corporate life of Israel. Thus immigration has been both a blessing and a problem for modern Israel.

Under the *Law of the Return*, which was passed unanimously by the Israeli Parliament (the Knesset) in July of 1950, any Jewish person anywhere in the world could immigrate to Israel. If that person did not have sufficient personal funds at

the time to pay transportation to Israel, such costs would be absorbed by the Jewish National Fund (it was anticipated the fund would be reimbursed the cost of this transportation, but such was not always the case). Thus, the state of Israel assumed the mammoth responsibility of financing the return of many as well as the task of providing housing, education, language training, and job opportunities for the numerous immigrants who came.

Another problem in connection with the absorption of immigrants is that many of the Jewish people who returned to Israel under this law were either physically or mentally unemployable. All Jews were welcome to come, not only the young and the strong but the old and the infirm, the halt and the blind, the widows and the orphans. This put a heavy burden on the new state of Israel.

THE CULTURAL CONFLICT

Among the other problems introduced by the rapid immigration was that of cultural absorption. In 1948 four out of five Israeli Jews were of European origin who had come to Palestine either for new opportunities and challenges (if they had come before World War II) or to rebuild their shattered lives (if they were refugees from the Nazi-occupied countries). Most of these Western Jews (Ashkenazim) had been used to machines, factories, mass production, latest scientific methods in farming, sanitation, medical care, transportation, and communication.

However, after 1948 and the Arab-Israeli war, most of the new immigrants came from North Africa and the Middle East, from such countries as Yemen, Iraq, Kurdistan, and Morocco. Many of these Jews from the Eastern countries (Sefardim) were used to primitive housing, sanitation, transportation, and communication; they had lived primarily in rural settings, and knew little or nothing of the hustle and bustle of Western cities.

Israel thus became a melting pot, a nation of many nations, just as the United States had once been a land of immigrants where many different kinds of people were blended into one nation. However, in the case of Israel, the blending had to take place much faster and in a relatively restricted, very small land

area. Although the immigrants came to Israel from over 100 different countries, the basic problem of absorption was how to resolve the many social and cultural problems between the Jews from the Western countries and those from the Near and the Middle East.

The differences were not only those of nationality and origin, but concerned practically every aspect of life. The Sefardim knew little of political Zionism, of Hebrew art or culture, of world problems or current events. Child marriage was permitted, as was marriage to more than one wife. Although many of the boys attended school briefly, practically none of the girls ever attended or were even encouraged to attend. They lived a leisurely life, usually working in or near the home, and then only when they felt like it. They knew little or nothing of the democratic processes, of merchandising or money-lending, of investing or banking. They couldn't understand why people should try to get more done in less time, why a person would want to work harder just so he could get richer. On the other hand, they greatly appreciated art and beauty, songs and dances. They designed and hand-made intricate jewelry and leather goods. Also they emphasized home life, and often three generations lived together in one household.

Thus the Sefardic Jews—backward in some areas but advanced in others—fled from the persecution of living among the Arabs to live with their Ashkenazic brothers in Israel. It has not been easy for the two cultures to adjust to each other, although the compulsory army service has helped many of the immigrant youth to make the transition; however, frequently the adults still try to follow their old patterns of life in a land and environment which is not always favorable. A cursory reading of a daily newspaper in Israel reveals that the cultural conflict continues. Some of the Sefardic workers claim they are discriminated against in employment, whereas the employers (usually Ashkenazic) reply they are simply hiring the best workers. Religiously, the Sefardim scrupulously followed the ancient rituals and customs, whereas the Ashkenazim from Western Europe had largely adapted his religion to the countries in which he had lived. These basic differences in religious beliefs and practices have led to the establishment of two major types of religious courts in Israel—one for the Sefardic

religious communities and one for the Ashkenazic. And today two chief rabbis, one from each group, preside over the religious affairs of Israel. The list of differences could go on and on. The clash between the two cultures was perhaps inevitable, and after twenty years it is still unresolved.

THE CONFLICT IN POLITICS

For all practical political purposes, a Jewish state ceased to exist in 70 A.D. when the Roman legions completed conquering the area and began scattering the Jewish people throughout the Roman Empire. From that time until 1948, the Jewish people literally had no homeland they could call their own and no official government which could represent them in the councils of the world. During most of these 1,800 years, the Jewish people formed minority groups in the various countries into which they had been scattered.

Thus, when the new state of Israel was established in 1948, it is understandable why the political leaders and the people decided on a democratic political system where even the minority groups could be represented in the processes of government. A system of "proportional representation" was devised which permits the voters in Israel to vote for a list of persons prepared by the political parties rather than to vote for individuals; then the political parties are represented in the parliament (Knesset) in proportion to the vote received in the general election. Thus, if a political party receives ten percent of the vote, then the top ten percent of the candidates on their list are elected. Inasmuch as 120 representatives serve in the Knesset, a political party would be entitled to twelve representatives in the Knesset if it received ten percent of the vote.

This system of government obviously has many strengths, including the fact that even small parties have official representation in the government. However, the system also has some serious weaknesses. For example, in the six elections which have been held since Israel became a state, no one political party has ever received a majority vote. Thus, the only way a government can be formed is through a coalition of political parties, and such coalitions often result in strange political bedfellows. Another weakness of the system has been that the same people tend to be reelected to the Knesset elec-

tion after election. Although 120 members serve in the Knesset, fewer than 200 different persons have served in the Knesset in the six elections which have been held. Such a system not only deprives the people of the new ideas which might come from new representatives, but it has not proven to be conducive to the development of political leadership.

GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE

The crises of May and June 1967 revealed other flaws in the political structure of Israel. The cabinet, which is headed by the prime minister, who is thus the real power in the government, is collectively responsible to the Knesset. The cabinet takes office on receiving a vote of confidence from that body, and it continues in office until—after its resignation, the resignation of the prime minister, or a vote of nonconfidence—a new one is constituted. In addition to the prime minister, other members of the cabinet include ministers of agriculture, commerce and industry, communications, defense, development and tourism, health, housing interior, justice, labor, police, posts, religious affairs, and social welfare. Ministers are usually members of the Knesset, although nonmembers may be appointed.

Normally most of the ministers are selected from those political parties which make up the coalition government; thus, the other political parties are often not represented in the governing section of the political structure. Inasmuch as there are frequently about as many political parties not represented in the cabinet as there are with representation, it is not unusual for the "outers" to combine together to form a strong and sometimes vociferous opposition group. Such a situation developed in the critical days of May 1967 when some of the parties threatened a vote of nonconfidence in the cabinet unless some new ministerial appointments were made of members of political parties who were not then represented in the government. Also, there was a strong feeling in the Knesset that Moshe Dayan should be appointed minister of defense, a post previously held by Levi Eshkol, who also held the position of prime minister. A vote of nonconfidence by the Knesset would have resulted in the collapse of the government at the very time that a strong and unified governing group was

necessary to cope with the threatened attack from the Arab countries. The prime minister was finally forced to accede to the demands of the Knesset to save the government.

This near political catastrophe has caused many people in Israel to take another good look at their system of government. Apparently the trend now is toward fewer but stronger political parties in hopes that in the next election one of the parties might actually get a majority of the vote and not continually have to fear a vote of nonconfidence. The political party which has received the largest number of votes in each of the six elections is the Mapai Party which merged with two other parties (Rafi and Achdut Ha'Avoda) in January of 1968 to form the United Israel Party. It is conceivable that this new party can win a majority of the vote in the elections of 1969. If so, the Israelis could probably look for some major changes in their system of government.

THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM

The judicial system reflects the divergent elements of Israel's political and religious makeup. Israel has four major types of courts to assist in administering and interpreting the law; the complete independence of each of the courts is guaranteed by law:

Magistrates' Courts—These are located in the cities and larger towns and deal with small monetary claims, less serious criminal charges, and certain matters connected with land rights.

District Courts—Every action not triable in a magistrates' court comes within the jurisdiction of a district court, although cases involving personal status may come before the religious courts. The court is composed of one or three judges; there is no jury system. The district courts may also sit as courts of appeal from magistrates' courts, and even in some cases from administrative tribunals. If a capital case is being tried, the court is presided over by a justice of the Supreme Court.

Religious Courts—Each of the religious communities recognized by the government is entitled to have its own religious courts which rule on matters of personal status (marriage, divorce, alimony, adoption, confirmation of wills, etc.) according to their respective religious law.

Supreme Court—Ten justices comprise the highest court in the land although most cases are heard by three judges. This

court hears appeals from district court judgments, and it can also sit as a high court of justice in actions brought by any citizen who seeks redress against any public body. It also exercises jurisdiction over the religious courts.

The major problems in Israel's judiciary system seem to stem from the fact that not all religious groups in Israel are officially recognized by the government; groups not receiving official recognition are not entitled to their own religious courts. Thus, on matters of personal status the members of such religious groups will be subject to the decision of the district court, regardless of what their own respective religious law may be. This system is not only discriminatory as regards liberal Jewish denominations (Conservative and Reform) whose rabbis and institutions are not accorded official status, but it also discriminates against the minority Moslem and smaller Christian groups (including the Protestant denominations) which also are not officially recognized. With the addition of more than a million Moslems and Christians as a result of the 1967 war, Israel may be forced to reevaluate her present system of religious courts.

THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF ISRAEL

One of the major internal problems in Israel concerns its struggling economy. Before the war of June 1967 Israel occupied a land territory of only 7,992 square miles, about seventy-five percent of which was located in the relatively arid Negev. Yet, in this relatively small land area, Israel had to produce sufficient foodstuffs to feed her increasing population and also to export to foreign countries so that her unfavorable balance of trade could be brought into line. This difficult problem was aggravated by several conditions. First of all, Israel is completely surrounded by hostile Arab enemies; thus, she has not been able to enjoy a normal trade relationship with any of her immediate neighbors. Not only have the Arab countries refused to trade with Israel, but they have also threatened economic boycotts against other countries which do trade with the Israelis. One of the causes of the 1967 war was that no Israeli ship nor any ship of any country going to or coming from Israel was allowed through the Suez Canal.

Thus Israel has been forced to develop trade agreements with countries considerably distant from her shores, primarily

the countries of Europe, Scandinavia, Britain, America and, more recently, West Africa. Israel has taken advantage of her Mediterranean climate to provide these countries with foodstuffs during the earlier part of the growing season when such foods are not available from local production.

A second problem which faced Israeli agriculture in the early days of settlement was that she had to develop an agrarian society. During the period of the diaspora (scattering), the Jewish people did not excel as farmers. There were many reasons for this, but one of the most important was that in many of the countries in which they lived, the Jewish people were not allowed to own property. Thus, they were forced to go into banking and other professions. When Jews began settling in Palestine in 1882, only one out of every fifty Jews was a farmer. However, after the war of 1948 it was necessary that the Israeli learn to farm because many of the Arabs on whom he had previously relied for farm products had fled to hostile Arab countries who would not trade with Israel. Thus, the farmer became idealized in Israel, and today one out of every five Jews in Israel works in a farming village.

A third problem facing Israel in the production of these foodstuffs is that she has had to devise an entirely new line of agricultural products. Traditionally, the major agricultural products of Palestine were wheat, barley, olives, grapes, pomegranates, figs, and dates. The grains were grown in the winter and harvested around Easter, whereas the other crops were grown in the spring and summer. However, in order to obtain maximum revenue from agricultural exports, Israel has developed a new agricultural economy based largely on products such as citrus fruits which are not grown in the European and Scandinavian countries.

The major drawback to Israeli agriculture, however, has been the lack of water. Although Israel has a relatively high amount of rainfall in the northern part of the country (the Hula Valley averages approximately 40 inches per year), she has a relatively small area of irrigable land there; on the other hand, the rainfall is extremely light in the southern part of the country (one to ten inches per year) where there is considerable irrigable land if only the water were available.

In 1955-56 the late Eric Johnston was sent as a representative of the U. S. to make recommendations concerning the divi-



Desolate landscape area near Jerusalem.

sion of irrigation waters of the Jordan valley, primarily the Jordan and Yarmuk Rivers. Under this plan, approximately sixty percent of the water would be utilized by the Arabs and forty percent would be allotted to Israel. The Johnston plan, however, was never fully accepted by the Arab countries. As a result Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan have all moved ahead unilaterally to withdraw water from the Jordan-Yarmuk system. On her part, Israel has used the Johnston proposal as justification for its pumping of water from Lake Tiberias to the head of the Carmel range where it flows by gravity through closed conduits to irrigate the arid Negev.

The economic and agricultural future of the area will depend largely upon the ability to produce and develop new water resources, because even 100 percent utilization of the present water resources would not satisfy the needs. Thus, the desalinization of seawater is being pushed extensively. In his Atoms-for-Peace address before the U.N. in December of 1953, President Dwight D. Eisenhower emphasized the possible rewards that could come in the future through the utilization of atomic energy. Under the direction of President Eisenhower, Admiral Lewis L. Strauss, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, urged the intensive study of methods of desalting seawater by atomic energy. In June of 1967 Mr. Strauss and Mr. Eisenhower, both of them now private citizens, made a proposal concerning the possible application for the Middle East on the desalting of water from the sea. In recent months major breakthroughs concerning the use of atomic energy in this area have occurred in research projects conducted in Israel and largely financed by the United States. Inasmuch as the Near East contains several seas (including the Mediterranean Sea, the Red Sea, the Sea of Galilee) the possibilities of future development are almost limitless. The development of such projects would not only help Israel but may greatly expand the supply of water for agriculture in much of the Near East, and thus may prove to be a major solution to the crucial issues facing the region.

BALANCE OF TRADE

Despite formidable difficulties, Israel has been able to solve many of her economic problems. For example, from 1950

through 1966 the gross national product in Israel grew by an average of nine percent per year (as compared with 3.3 percent in the United States). The 1966 GNP was almost \$4 billion or \$1,500 per capita; this figure compares favorably with that of advanced European countries and is many times higher than that of most of the other countries in the Middle East.

On the other hand, Israel has never been able to get her exports to equal her imports, although the imbalance of trade is annually becoming less. In 1950 Israel imported more than \$300 million while her net exports, not including services, amounted to \$35 million. By 1966 her imports amounted to almost \$812 million while her net exports were \$477 million, leaving an imbalance of trade of nearly \$400 million.

Although the total imports may look excessively high for a country with a GNP of only about \$4 billion, it should be remembered that much of this import is in raw material. For example, Israel imports raw diamonds from South Africa and then exports them cut and polished. Therefore, the diamonds show as part of both the import and export, but approximately twenty-five percent of the import stays in Israel to cover the cost of the cutting and polishing. Israel has now replaced Holland as the number one exporter of diamonds in the world.

Israel has used several means to achieve a balance of payments in foreign currency. In the 1966-67 fiscal year her foreign currency receipts totaled \$1.2 billion. Of this amount, \$716 million came from exports of goods and services; \$279 million came from private transfers of capital and restitution to victims of the Nazis; \$91 million came from the sale of Israel bonds; and \$45 million from various governmental agreements. Beyond what Israel's trade could do to achieve a balance of payment, she has received help from Jewish people everywhere. In 1967 Prime Minister Levi Eshkol estimated that since 1948 at least \$750 million had come from friends in the United States.¹

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS OF THE ECONOMY

In addition to her foreign currency difficulties, however, Israel also has an internal conflict between the public and the private sections of the economy. The settlers who returned to

¹*U.S. News and World Report*, April 17, 1967, p. 76.

Palestine from 1882 to 1904 were largely capitalists, and they attempted to repurchase and reclaim the land on capitalistic principles. However, they nearly failed in their efforts because no one person or group had enough money or other resources to develop the necessarily large reclamation projects. Only the donation of millions of dollars by the French nobleman, Baron Edmond de Rothschild, enabled these early adventurers to gain a foothold in the new land.

Later immigration to Palestine (1902-1914) brought many Zionists from eastern Europe who wanted a socialist Jewish homeland. They established communal settlements of various types to carry out their idea of having group ownership and control of all the land and the means of production. All shared equally in the gains and losses of the group; they did not own separate houses, and frequently did not even live as separate families. Sometimes, they brought up their children as a group, and they worked, lived, and ate together in communal housing with a communal dining hall. These socialist villages (Kibbutzim) helped the Zionists in reclaiming the land, but they also came into conflict with the other settlers who were trying to found a society based on capitalism.

A middle type of villages were thus developed—Moshavim (cooperatives). In these villages, the land is often owned privately, but equipment, seeds, fertilizers, etc., are purchased cooperatively and the sale of products is also handled cooperatively. Presently, about 400 villages in Israel are run as cooperatives (Moshavim), nearly 200 are collectives (Kibbutzim), and only about forty are entirely privately owned.

The Jewish National Fund, established in 1901 by the World Zionist Organization to buy land in Palestine and to help in developing productive farms, has tried to work with both the capitalistic and socialistic groups. Today only ten percent of the farmland in Israel is owned by private individuals, and the remaining ninety percent is owned either by the Jewish National Fund or by the government. These J.N.F. and government lands are then leased to the Kibbutzim and other communal groups as well as to private individuals and groups for development. This essentially means that no one can get rich in Israel by buying and selling farmland, but it also means that the conflict between the socialistic and capitalistic groups is still unresolved.

Another major factor in the economy of Israel is the Histadrut—Israel's General Federation of Labor. This organization, founded some thirty years before Israel became a country, is much more than a labor union in the American sense, but it is a labor union. However, it is also the country's largest health, education, and welfare agency and is one of the country's largest employers. This unique organization is introduced in a recent book on Israel as follows:

Try to imagine a *labor union* that:

—owns the country's largest factories, construction firm, bank, newspapers, medical organization, insurance company, bus and truck lines;

—is *part owner* of the country's biggest airline, merchant fleet, oil company, quarry, tire factory, plastic factory;

—represents eight out of ten workers in the country, including doctors, lawyers, engineers, farmers, and even housewives along with factory and mine workers;

—gives medical care, hospitalization, unemployment insurance, and social security to two-thirds of the entire nation, spends twice as much as the government on health care, runs the country's biggest sports organization and a good deal of its cultural life;

—pioneers new villages and towns in dangerous territory;

—is the country's biggest *employer* and *landlord*.

That's the Histadrut—Israel's General Federation of Labor. . . . It does everything expected of an ordinary labor union. It bargains with employers for higher wages, shorter hours, better working conditions. It sponsors recreational activities for its members, and college scholarships for their children. It campaigns for better labor laws, and supports candidates for government office. But the Histadrut is also a huge health, education and welfare agency, a giant business corporation, and pioneering organization.²

The accomplishments of the Histadrut have been considerable in its nearly fifty years of existence. It has been successful in getting laws passed against child labor, against forcing women to engage in hard physical labor, in favor of an eight-hour day, a forty-seven-hour week with at least thirty-six continuous hours of rest, and at least twelve days of paid vacation each year. However, by American standards it still has considerable goals to achieve as a labor union; for example, the average Israeli worker still only earns about one-third as much

²Harry Essrig and Abraham Segal, *Israel Today* (New York, 1964), p. 155.

as the average American worker, although the Israeli earns far more than the average worker in the Arab countries or in the underdeveloped areas of Asia and Africa.

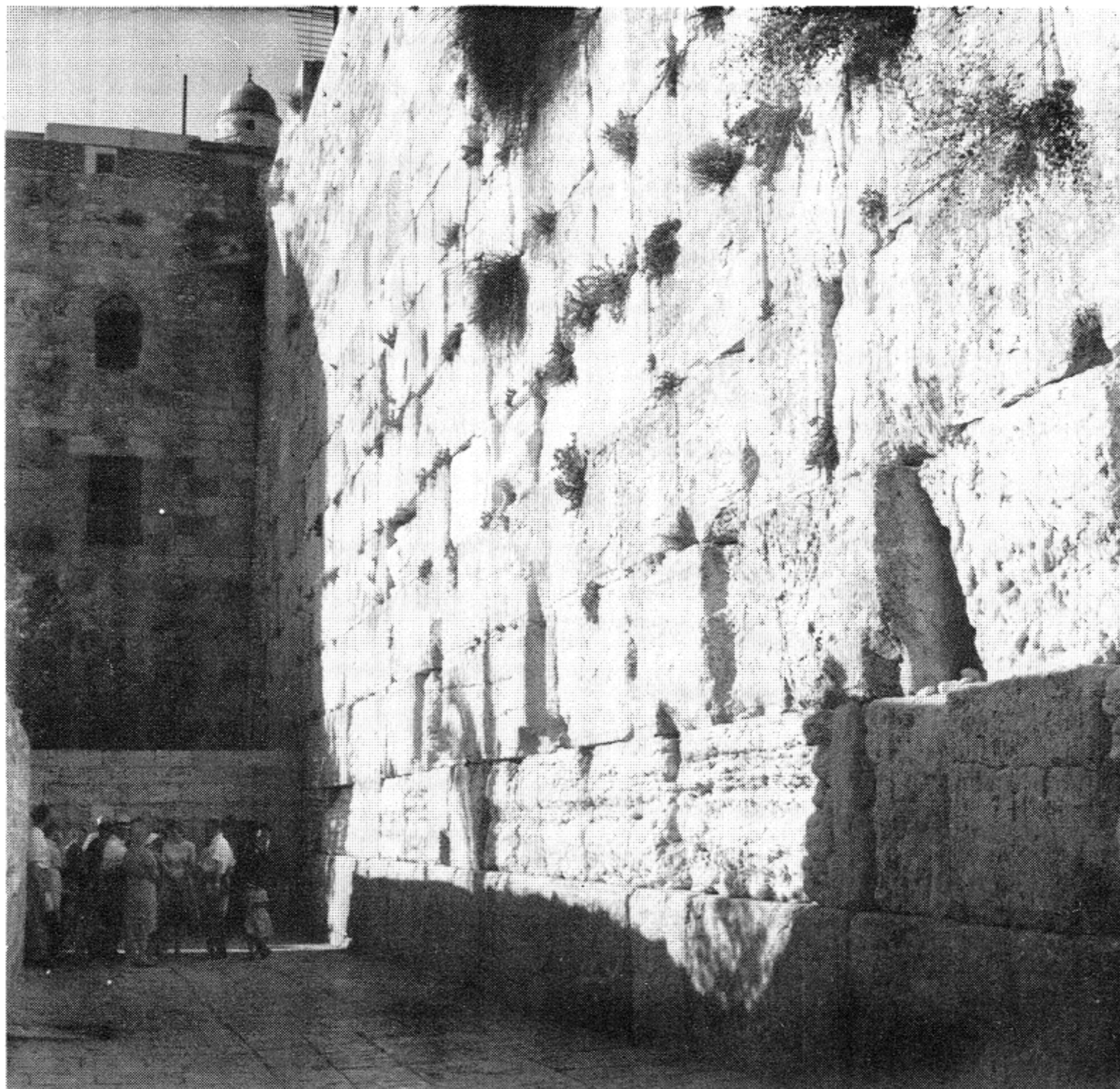
RELIGIOUS CONFLICT

Israel has been known as the motherland of three of the world's living religions which had their birth or had important events happen in this area. To the one billion Christians on the earth, the land of Israel is the birthplace and earthly home of their Savior and Redeemer; to the over 400 million Moslems, Jerusalem contains the holy spot from which Mohammed ascended into heaven, and to them is a holy place which follows only after Mecca and Medina; to the Jewish people, Jerusalem is the holiest spot on earth—the location of their ancient kingly capital and also the site of their holy temples.

At the end of 1966, approximately ninety percent of Israel's inhabitants were Jewish (2,344,900 Jews out of the total population of 2,657,400), approximately nine percent were Moslem, and the remaining one percent consisted of Christians and other groups. Of the approximately 58,500 Christians who lived in Israel at the end of 1966, the principal denominations were represented as follows: Greek Catholic—23,000; Greek Orthodox—17,000; Latin—11,000; and Maronite—3,000. There were also about 2,000 Protestants (Anglicans, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Lutherans, and scattered numbers in other smaller groups.

Other religious groups represented in Israel include Druzes, Karaites, and Samaritans. Nearly 32,000 Druzes live in the northern and central parts of Israel; these people are descendants of a group who broke away from Islam in the eleventh century. Also, approximately 10,000 Karaites live in Israel, mainly near Ramla. These people reject rabbinic tradition and law and accept only the literal law of the Bible. The Samaritans are an ancient sect coming down from the times of the Bible who believe in only the authority of the Torah (Pentateuch) and Joshua; approximately 400 now live in Israel, mostly in Nablus (ancient Schechem).

Relatively few of the Jewish population are orthodox in religious belief and practice. However, because the National Religious Party has been part of every coalition government



The Wailing Wall in Jerusalem was one of the major points of contention in the Arab-Israeli conflicts.

formed in Israel, many of the laws in Israel are based on religion, including laws pertaining to the Sabbath, Kosher requirements, etc. As part of their price for being a member of the government, the National Religious Party has insisted (1) that the minister of religion come from their group; (2) that the law of Israel in the area of personal status (such as marriage, divorce, adoption, wills, etc.) should be handled primarily by the religious courts; (3) that the Sabbath and the other dietary laws of orthodox Judaism be maintained and enforced; and (4) that there should be no proselyting among the religious groups in Israel.

Although Israel claims to have freedom of religious worship and equality of religions under the law, the fact remains that the present **religious laws** of Israel discriminate against

many of the non-Jewish groups as well as against those Jewish groups which are not orthodox. For example, the law against proselyting discriminates against Christians who believe in proselyting; if there were no such law, the Jewish groups still would not proselyte because they do not believe in it. Also, some of the non-Jewish groups are discriminated against in their personal rights because their rabbis and other religious leaders are not officially recognized by Israel. Thus, members of their religious communities cannot be married by them, obtain divorces, adopt children, etc.

It is thus one of the paradoxes of history that the Jewish people who themselves have been persecuted religiously for hundreds of years in the countries in which they have lived as minorities should now pass and enforce religious laws which impinge on the religious rights of some of Israel's citizens. The problem is becoming increasingly more significant because the war of 1967 brought additional tens of thousands of Christians and hundreds of thousands of Moslems under Israeli control. For example, over 12,000 Christians live in East Jerusalem which has already been annexed to Israel, and about 30,000 Christians live in the "West Bank" areas of Ramallah, Bethlehem, Beit Jalla, and Beit Sahour. Also, nearly 1,000,000 Moslems live in these areas and in other areas under Israeli military control in the Gaza Strip, the Sinai Peninsula, and the Golan Heights. If Israel maintains these lands, she will be forced to reevaluate her religious law and practice. And even if she doesn't keep these lands, she would do well to practice the teachings of her ancient scriptures which counsel her to accept the stranger as one of her own.

EDUCATIONAL CHALLENGES

Some of Israel's greatest progress since 1948 has been made in her educational system, despite the tremendous rise in population. At present, education is free and compulsory in the first eight grades for children from five to fourteen years of age; at the choice of their parents, children attend either state or religious schools, most of which are coeducational. However, the present weak point in the educational system is the secondary schools, which are neither free nor compulsory, and which charge tuition of up to \$250 per year. Although about fifty

percent of the students who qualify for secondary training are exempted from the payment of this tuition because of the lack of parents' income or the passing of high entrance examinations in developmental areas, many students who should be attending these schools are unable to do so. Even with these limitations, approximately 740,000 pupils are in primary and secondary educational institutions in Israel, as compared with only 130,000 in 1948-49.

The brightest spot in the Israeli educational development is the excellent system of higher education. Seven institutions of higher learning are currently operating in Israel as follows:

Hebrew University, located in Jerusalem, has seven colleges with approximately 12,000 students.

Israel Institute of Technology, located in Haifa, has nearly 3,500 undergraduate students, 1,500 graduate students, and 7,600 students in extension services.

Tel Aviv University, located in Israel's largest city, has nearly 8,000 students in six faculties.

Bar-Ilan University, a religious institution at Ramat Gan near Tel Aviv, has nearly 3,500 students.

Weizmann Institute of Science, located in Rehovot, is primarily concerned with fundamental research in the natural sciences and has approximately 250 graduate students.

Two new municipal universities have just opened in Haifa and Beersheba.

Since 1948 Israel has faced and solved many educational problems, including how to get Arab girls and a higher percentage of Arab boys to attend (Israel organized separate schools where the courses are taught in Arabic and then made attendance compulsory), how to train an adequate number of teachers (she established several teacher-training institutions separate from the regular universities), and how to provide the monies and facilities for higher education (she raised considerable funds abroad, increased the total educational budget by several times, and placed more of the responsibility upon municipal and other groups).

Hopefully, Israel's remaining problem of how to assure a fine secondary school training for all who are interested and qualified will also soon be solved.

Even before the war of June 1967 Israel had an internal security problem with over 300,000 Arabs living in the land; these Arabs lived primarily in three sections: the Galilee—140,000; the larger cities—80,000; the Negev—20,000. In acquiring the additional land areas of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, the Sinai Peninsula, East Jerusalem, and the Golan Heights, Israel greatly increased her security problem by assuming military control of an additional million Arabs.

Although not all of this Arab population is opposed to Israel's existence or is even antagonistic to Israel, yet enough oppose the principles and practices of Zionism to give definite "aid and comfort" to the enemies of Israel. Again, to put this problem in its proper perspective so far as the United States is concerned, what if some 60 million Russians were living in the United States with many of them sympathetic to the political and economic aims of the Soviet Union?

Of necessity, Israel has had to enforce curfew laws in areas of large Arab populations, and most of the territory acquired in the war of 1967 is still under military control. These restrictions have caused many Arabs to maintain they do not have the full rights and privileges extended to Jewish Israeli citizens.

A more serious security problem for Israel to cope with, however, is how to prevent some of the Arabs living in the areas under military control from giving support to the terrorist groups primarily operating out of neighboring Arab countries. Almost daily these terrorist groups cause the death of Israeli citizens or the destruction of Israeli property. In the main, the terrorists are not responsible to any of the national Arab governments; they are organized and usually operate independently of these governments, although occasionally they are supported by army units of Syria, Jordan, or Egypt in their strikes into Israeli-held territory. Israel now faces the dilemma of how to stop these terrorist operations. If she retaliates by striking at the Arabs living in Israel who may be giving support and aid to the terrorists, she runs the risk of continued hatred and suspicion of her Arab citizens, particularly if the punished Arabs are not really those who were responsible for the incident. If she strikes back at the Arab countries which give sanctuary to these terrorist bands, she then runs the risk of another major war which would undoubtedly involve all of the Arab countries, not just the one against whom the retaliatory

attack is waged. Or if Israel does nothing against the terrorists, undoubtedly the terrorist raids will increase in number and intensity until Israel herself is destroyed.

The problem of how Israel should deal with her Arab citizens and with those Arabs living in areas under military control remains one of her most pressing and unresolved conflicts. Only the future will tell how she will meet this problem.

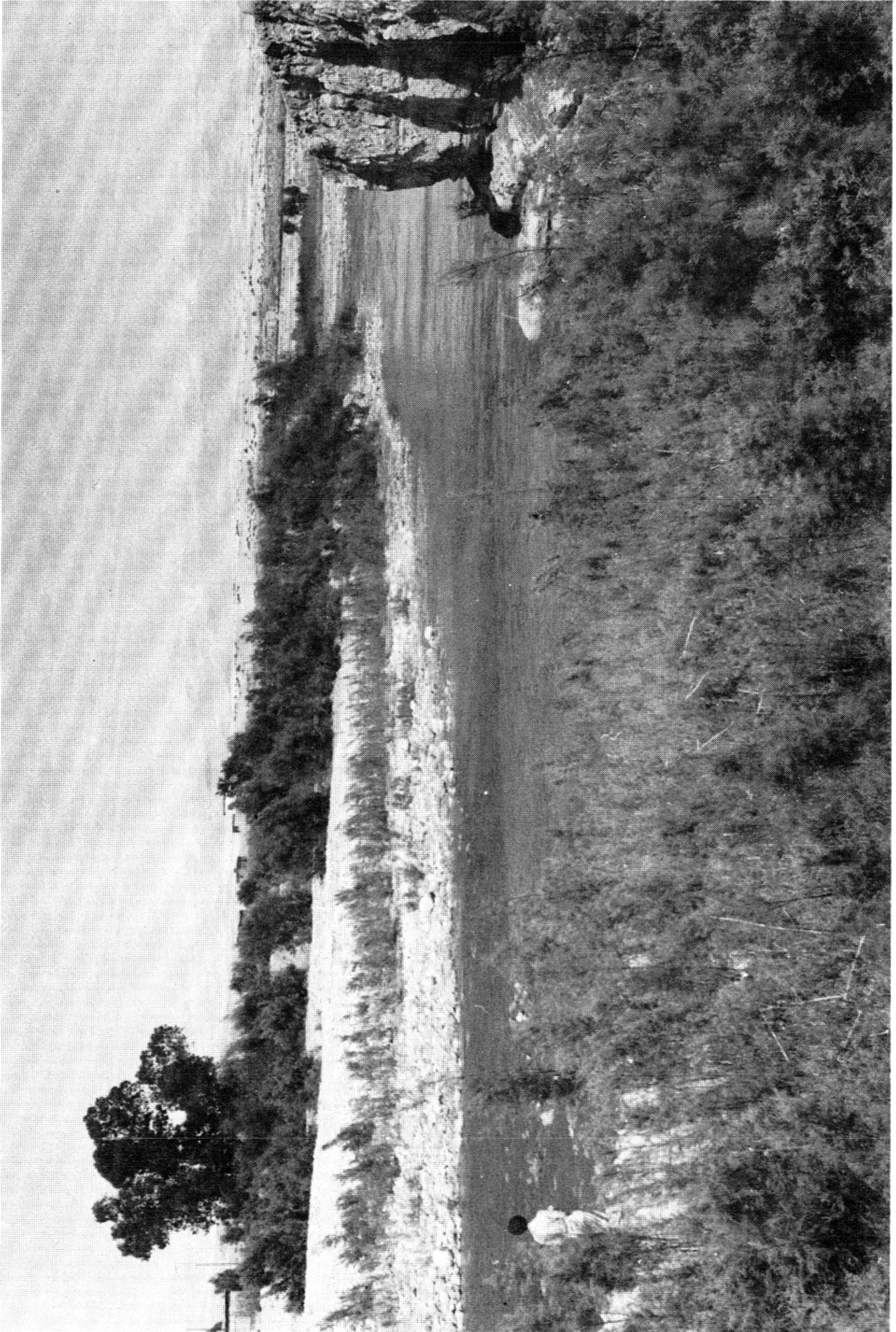
THE CONFLICT WITH THE ARAB COUNTRIES

The major overriding conflict in present-day Israel, of course, is the difficulty she is having with her neighboring Arab countries. This conflict is not of the usual variety where one country wishes to conquer and control another country. In the case of Israel, the Arab countries do not wish to conquer and control; rather, their avowed desire and aim is to destroy and annihilate. Thus, unless Israel is able to solve this major conflict, it will do her little good to solve all of her other problems.

The problem between Israel and the Arab states has roots deep in history. More than 2,000 years before Christ lived on the earth, Abraham was promised that the land of Canaan (later known as Palestine) would belong to "his seed" forever. The problem, however, is that both the Arabs and the Jews claim to be descendants of Abraham, the Arabs through Ishmael and Esau, and the Jews through Isaac, Jacob, and Judah.

In more recent times, the claims to the area have arisen out of the several hundred years of Turkish control. Under the Turks, many of the natives were converted to the Moslem faith and other Moslems moved into the area of Palestine and established their villages on the hilltops. Here they were able to grow virtually all of the agricultural products they needed to exist: the cereals from which they made their bread, the olive tree from which they obtained their oils and fats, the fig tree from which they got their sugar, and the grape vines from which they obtained wine. The hills also provided them with a natural military advantage over their enemies.

When the Zionists started to return to Palestine near the beginning of this century, they found they could not purchase most of the hill country either because the people did not want



The River Jordan is no formidable boundary in this area.

to give up their agrarian way of life, or they did not want to sell to Jews. Thus, the major areas available for purchase and eventual colonization by the Jews included the swampy, malaria-infested Hula Valley, the marshy valley of Jezreel, the sandy plains of Zebulun and Sharon on the Mediterranean coast, and the arid wastes of the Negev. It was to these areas, largely unwanted by the native Arab population, that the Zionists came. Through irrigation and drainage projects and the use of commercial fertilizers, the Jewish settlers were able to dry the swamp and make the desert blossom. However, the November 1947 partition proposal of the United Nations, that separate Jewish and Arab states be established, satisfied neither group. The Jews were not satisfied because they felt they had not been given enough of the land area and that which was given them was not joined together in an economically feasible manner. The Arabs were not satisfied because they resented the giving of any of their territory to a proposed Jewish state.

The conflict between the two groups became more pronounced after May 1948 when Israel declared itself an independent country, the British Mandate ceased, and the Arab countries declared war on Israel. As a result of this war, hundreds of thousands of Arab refugees left their homes and fled into surrounding Arab countries. Regardless of the reasons for their desertion (the Israelis say the Arabs left because they were commanded to do so by the Arab military leaders; the Arabs say they left for fear of being killed by the Israelis), the unresolved problem of the Arab refugee has remained an open and festering wound on the body politic of the Middle East. Although armistice agreements have been made between Israel and her Arab neighbors, no peace treaties have been signed in the Middle East. Thus, referring to the conflict of June 1967 as the "Six-Day War" is erroneous in a sense because it was simply a new outbreak of a war that has been going on for twenty years.

ISRAEL'S ATTEMPTS TO OBTAIN MILITARY EQUIPMENT

One problem that Israel has faced is how to obtain the necessary military equipment to defend herself against the threats of her Arab neighbors. Although she has been able to produce some of her light military equipment herself (such as

the Uzzi machine gun), she has gone primarily to France and the United States for her heavier military equipment. In 1958 France supplied Israel with a squadron of Sud Vautour twin-jet tactical bombers and in 1959 started deliveries of the Super Mystère and later the Dassault Mirage III supersonic interceptor and fighter bomber. However, in the war of June 1967 France condemned Israel as the aggressor and has since refused to sell her additional planes. At present, Israel is negotiating with the United States for the delivery of fifty Phantom 4 jets. President Nixon has declared that if a careful examination indicates Israel is in need of these planes to protect herself from Arab aggression, then he will favor their delivery to Israel. The United States has already provided Israel with some Skyhawk fighters and Hawk missiles, and with a considerable number of Patton tanks.

It is ironical that one reason Israel has had difficulty in obtaining military equipment is that she has been so successful in the use of the equipment she already has. Thus, after her striking and short victory in the Suez crisis of 1956, the Western countries were reluctant to sell too many additional arms to Israel. And as a result of Israel's spectacular victory in June 1967 the Western powers again have largely treated her appeal for additional arms with, "You already have enough, just as we told you so." But the Israelis claim they need additional arms not only to replace the forty to fifty planes and other military equipment she lost in the June war, but also to prevent a new war. Her argument is that strength deters attack and that if she were adequately prepared, Egypt and the other Arab countries would be reluctant to attack and thus start another war.

Another difficulty Israel has had in obtaining additional arms is that most of the Western powers acknowledge that the Arabs have quantitative military superiority, but they insist that the Israelis have a qualitative military superiority which more than compensates for any surplus of military equipment by their enemies.

In November of 1967 the Security Council of the United Nations adopted a resolution authorizing the dispatch of a special representative to negotiate with the Arabs and Israel "to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement." In December United Nations special

envoy, Gunnar V. Jarring, left for the Near and Middle East to try to implement this resolution. Over a year later, however, the question still remains, "Can there be an Arab-Israel settlement?" Much of the answer to this question, according to Israel, depends upon whether or not Arab leaders are willing to meet with the Israelis face-to-face to talk about peace. However, much of the answer also depends on the great powers. The Soviet Union is clearly trying to advance communist influence and power in the Middle East by supporting the Arab position. Thus it may well be that the last thing desired by the Soviet Union would be a peaceful and stable Middle East. It is therefore not surprising that the Soviet Union has demanded that Israel withdraw from all the territory she occupied in June of 1967 and that this withdrawal be without any conditions. On the other hand, the United States has contended that any withdrawal must be in the context of peace and to recognized boundaries. The United States also supports a resolution which would call for freedom of navigation, a just settlement of the refugee problem, and a guaranteeing of the territorial inviolability and independence of every state in the area.

The question then arises—Which of the conquered territories would Israel be willing to give up? In the first place, she has made it absolutely clear that East Jerusalem is nonnegotiable and will not be returned. Although Israel might be willing to return some of the other occupied territories, it should be noted that as a result of the 1967 war Israel's boundaries are much more defensible than they were previously. Her long winding border with Jordan in the Jordan Valley has been reduced from 186 miles to 46 miles. The border with Egypt has been cut from 133 miles to 48 miles. Also, much of the new cease-fire line is natural boarder following a water course: the Jordan River, the Gulf of Aqaba, the Gulf of Suez, and the Suez Canal. Thus, Israel undoubtedly would be very reluctant to give up many of these territories, unless she was given boundaries that would be recognized by the Arabs and unless she is guaranteed there will be no further efforts toward aggression on the part of the Arab states. It is hard to imagine such a guarantee as forthcoming or even enforceable.

Israel gained other geographical advantages in the June war: (1) Today the Egyptian army is 248 miles from Tel Aviv across the Sinai Peninsula and the Suez Canal, whereas pre-

viously Egyptian forces were in Gaza, only fifteen miles away; (2) The Syrian army has been pushed back from the commanding position they held in the Golan Heights overlooking numerous Israeli settlements to a point where they are now nearly twenty miles from any long-established Israeli settlement; (3) The Israelis are now in command of the large Sinai Peninsula which not only makes it difficult for the Egyptians to mass soldiers and tanks for a war against Israel, but also provides Israel with the income from the oil wells in this locality (\$35 million a year) which is enough to pay the cost of maintaining most of the lands occupied from the Arabs; (4) Obtaining the lands west of the Jordan River has not only provided a more natural boundary between Israel and Jordan (the Jordan River), but has also greatly extended the width of Israel in the highly populated and very vulnerable area between Tel Aviv and Haifa.

Even with all of these advantages, however, Israel has declared her willingness to return some of these lands if the Arabs will meet with her face-to-face to negotiate the peace terms and if the Arabs will agree that Israel has a right to exist. There is little prospect, however, that the Arabs will agree to these terms. Thus the chance of peace in the Middle East unfortunately remains very slight.

THE FUTURE?

And what of the future? Unfortunately, the conflicts faced by Israel in the first twenty years of her existence promise to continue, with some of them becoming even more serious than before. An old Jewish saying suggests that when God allocated the troubles and suffering for mankind, he divided them into ten portions, giving nine portions to the Jews and one portion to the rest of the world. Although things are obviously not that bad, the fact remains that at least the Jews in Israel have had and probably will have their share of the world's problems, continuing to be a nation in conflict.

A Rocky Mountain Book Store Savage and Ottinger of Utah

MADELEINE B. STERN*

A previously uncharted bypath in Western Americana leads directly to a nineteenth-century Salt Lake City business partnership. The firm, which gave an impetus to the development of Western art and photography, was known as A ROCKY MOUNTAIN BOOK STORE. In its history three protagonists were involved.

Charles R. Savage,¹ destined to become one of the most outstanding photographers of the West, was born in Southampton, England, in 1832. Converted to Mormonism by a missionary, he ventured to New York during his twenties. From there, having decided to become a photographer, he journeyed west and practiced his trade supplied with a camera, a grey blanket which he used for background and a large tea chest that he converted into a darkroom. In June of 1860 he crossed the plains to Salt Lake City, where sagebrush grew high in the streets and prairie schooners carried their cargoes. He was equipped with an observant eye and a camera, a faith in Mormonism, and a background of Rocky Mountain scenery. All he needed was a partner.

*Miss Stern is a partner in Leona Rostenberg Rare Books in New York City. She is the author of eight biographies, the latest of which is *The Pantarch: A Biography of Stephen Pearl Andrews*, 1968. She has also published in numerous other scholarly journals such as *American Literature*, *PMLA*, and *New England Quarterly*. She is currently working on a book on the phrenologist publishers, Fowler and Wells.

¹Edward H. Anderson, "Events and Comments," *The Improvement Era* XII, 406; Kate B. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City, 1943-1948), V, 54, IX, 107-110, 115-119; Information from Mr. Harold B. Kelly, Western Americana, University of Utah Libraries; Robert Taft, *Photography and the American Scene* (New York, 1938), p. 272.

This need the second protagonist filled. George M. Ottinger,² soon to become a pioneer artist of the West, had been born a year later than Savage, in Springfield Township, Pennsylvania, the descendant of German Quakers who had immigrated to America. His youth was varied and colorful, including some formal schooling, much daubing in water colors, and a three-year voyage before the mast when as a sailor he shipped to Panama and China, India and Africa. Tinting photographs to earn money, he subsequently made the westward journey; and, having adopted the Mormon faith, Ottinger arrived by oxteam in the valley of the Great Salt Lake just a year after Charles R. Savage.

The two men complemented each other. While Savage took photographs, Ottinger colored them. The art work that resulted could be exchanged for molasses, wheat, and provisions, and so the partnership of Savage and Ottinger prospered. Ottinger was promised the job of scene painting for the new Salt Lake Theater and was soon able to purchase a home lot from Brigham Young. By 1863, the Deseret Academy of Arts was organized. The territory developed a taste for Rocky Mountain scenery that could be photographed by one partner and tinted by the other. As they advertised in the *Deseret News* of December 9, 1863:

PHOTOGRAPHS.

MESSRS. SAVAGE & OTTINGER take pleasure in announcing that they have OPENED their new **PHOTOGRAPHIC GALLERY**, 1st door South of the Council House, where they are prepared to furnish the public with the following styles of portraiture:

- Ambrotypes, Photographs, Plain.
- Melainotypes, Photographs, in Oil.
- Locket Pictures, Photographs, in India Ink.
- Stereoscopes, Photographs, in Water Color.
- Cartes de visite, Photographs, in Crayon.
- Ivorytypes.

Anything from the Ring Miniature to the Life Size Portrait. Views of City, Mountain and Lake Scenery constantly on hand. Orders by mail promptly filled. Perfect satisfaction guaranteed. 21-3

²Kate B. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City, 1943-1948), II, 3-4; H. L. A. Culmer, "Art and Artists in Utah," *Tullidge's Quarterly Magazine* (January 1881) pp. 217-220; Frank Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1966), p. 1080; Alice Merrill Horne, *Devotees and Their Shrines: A Hand Book of Utah Art* (Salt Lake City, 1914), pp. 24-27, 115; Information from Mr. Harold B. Kelly, Western Americana, University of Utah Libraries; Heber G. Richards, "George M. Ottinger, Pioneer Artist of Utah," *The Western Humanities Review* III:3 (July 1949), pp. 209-218; Robert Taft, *Artists and Illustrators of the Old West 1850-1900* (New York, 1953), p. 323.

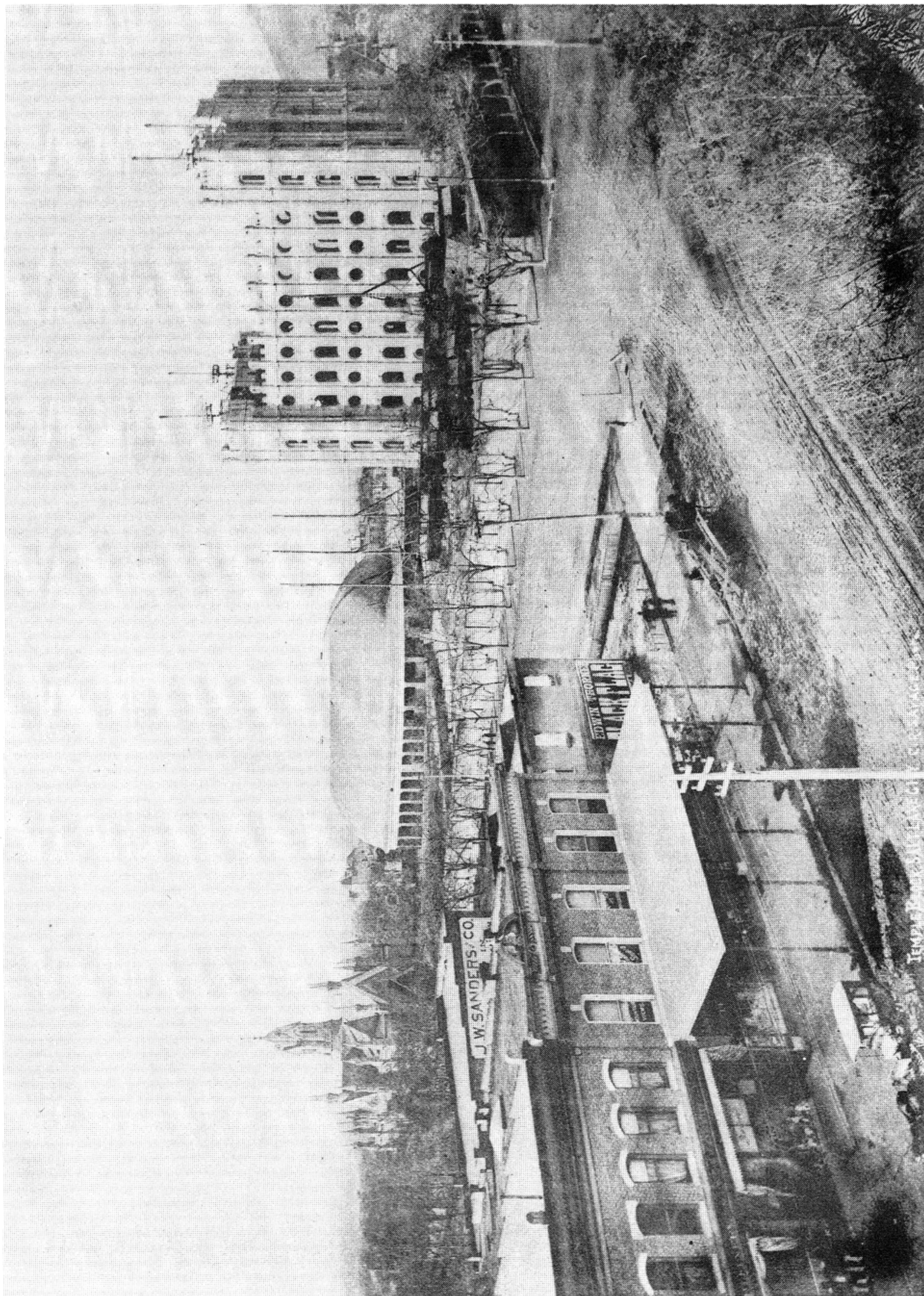
In 1866, when the Civil War was over, Charles Savage, who did most of the field work for the firm, went east to augment his stock of photographic materials. It was doubtlessly at that time that he met the third protagonist in the story of A ROCKY MOUNTAIN BOOK STORE, Samuel R. Wells.

Wells, proprietor of the New York City firm of phrenologist-publishers, Fowler and Wells, had an understandable interest in art and photography. Besides publishing and selling books on phrenology—the science, or pseudoscience, of the mind—and giving phrenological examinations based either upon heads or accurate photographs of heads, he operated a cabinet at 389 Broadway. In the galleries of that Golgotha of Gotham, visitors found much of interest, from skulls and mummies to busts, engravings, and paintings. The latest techniques in making plaster casts, new developments in photography, and modern styles in painting had a fascination for Wells who, in addition, was an enthusiastic traveler to the West. He was well equipped to guide Charles Savage in photographic purchases. At all events, on the return trip Savage fitted up a supply wagon from which he did photography en route; and once back in Salt Lake City he sent to Samuel R. Wells a photograph of Brigham Young which duly appeared in *The Illustrated Annual of Phrenology and Physiognomy*, “through the politeness of Mr. C. R. Savage, photographic artist of Salt Lake City.”³

As the 1860's rushed to their completion, so, too, did the great Overland Railroad, and the firm of Savage and Ottinger found a ready market for “views of the Overland Route and of all places of interest in Utah and Montana.” They supplied for *The Salt Lake City Directory* a huge folding plate of the town, advertising their “photographs taken in the best style of the art.”⁴ In his celebrated lecture on Mormonism, the humorist Artemus Ward used a series of painted panoramas based upon photographs by Savage. In time the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific met at Promontory Point, Utah, on May 10, 1869; the thrilling ceremony was captured by Charles R. Savage in a scene to be reproduced in most of the history textbooks of the country.

³S. R. Wells, *The Illustrated Annuals of Phrenology and Physiognomy for the Years 1865-1873* (New York [1873]), p. 38 of *Annual* for 1866.

⁴E. L. Sloan, *The Salt Lake City Directory and Business Guide. For 1869* (Salt Lake City 1869).



A Charles Savage picture of Temple Square.

Meanwhile, however, the firm had received most desirable publicity at the hands of Samuel R. Wells, and a business arrangement had been entered into by which Savage and Ottinger sold the Wells publications while Wells sold the handiwork of Savage and Ottinger. It was through this arrangement that Savage and Ottinger were spurred on to greater artistic achievements.

The picture of a ROCKY MOUNTAIN BOOK STORE appeared in the May 1868 issue of the *American Phrenological Journal*, a long-lived periodical edited by Samuel R. Wells. Beneath the picture was the following announcement:⁵

The above engraving represents the book store and photographic art emporium of Messrs. Savage & Ottinger, in Great Salt Lake City, Utah Territory. Besides supplying the "Saints" and the "Gentiles" with the best literature of the Old World and the New, they produce good pictures—we may safely say some of the best we have ever seen. Portraits of the "saints" and "sinners" . . . Indians, pictures of trees, mountains, water-falls . . . and some of the most sublime scenery in the world.

These gentlemen are artists! They combine business with art, and supply school books, phrenological books, and every variety of *useful* books.

. . . Here is a store, . . . three thousand miles west from New York, in the center of a vast Territory teeming with life, enterprise, education, and MORMONISM! A hundred thousand hardy people now have their homes in these mountains; . . . Look now on one of its first book stores.

After an apostrophe to the "grandest portion of the American continent," Wells concluded by quoting a paragraph from the Salt Lake *Daily News*:

Books.—The attention of our readers is directed to the advertisement of Messrs. Savage & Ottinger. They are the agents for several valuable publications, including those of Mr. Samuel R. Wells, of New York, of which we can not speak too highly. Visitors from our Territory to that establishment speak very highly of the courtesies extended to them. The house certainly deserves credit for the number of progressive works it publishes. We are glad to learn that they have an extended circulation among us.

After this burst of mutual esteem, George M. Ottinger apparently sent to the head of Fowler and Wells one or more

⁵*American Phrenological Journal* 47:5 (May 1868), p. 195.

of his paintings, among them a picture of the great creek that ran through Brigham Young's premises, entitled "City Creek Falls." This Wells had no difficulty in disposing of. Its purchaser was none other than Schuyler Colfax,⁶ who in 1865 had visited Salt Lake City with Samuel Bowles, editor of the *Springfield Republican*, and who by 1868 had been elected vice-president of the United States.

The following letter, written by Ottinger to Wells from Salt Lake City on November 6, 1868,⁷ refers not only to "City Creek," but to Wells' part in publicizing the artist's work:

Salt Lake City, Utah
Nov 6, 1868

Mr Wells
Dear Sir

Your letter of the 22d ult recd and I assure you it is no small gratification to me to hear you are so well pleased with the picture. Not only a gratification & satisfaction to feel that so small a gift has been appreciated & accepted in return for the many - many kindnesses you have extended to S. & O but it is also with no little satisfaction I hear that yourself & friends have discovered some merit in my work, enough indeed to place it among your other gems. Now Mr Wells the only part of the business I'm not satisfied with is your placing \$50 to our credit *We will not stand that.* We have been more than doubly paid for that picture. It is a free gift fresh from the hearts of the givers as a slight token of their esteem and friendship, and as such you must accept it. We will not have it otherwise.

In a few days I shall send you another Cañon View as good as the one you have. I send it to you to sell for us and if successful I shall send you more and allow any commission you think proper.

I have been for years struggling and studying with brush & palette to gain or at least approximate to that point of fame, so coveted by all artists. The little picture I sent you has broken the ice - (in New York, the great center of American art) and its success emboldens me to venture another. Your influence judgement, and facilities for Exhibiting pictures in your rooms until my name has become known in the art world would be a kindness extended to me of more value than a thousand pictures like City Creek.

⁶See *American Phrenological Journal* 49:3 (March 1869), p. 110.

⁷The original is among the Fowler Family Papers, Collection of Regional History, Cornell University Library, and is reproduced by courtesy of Mr. Herbert Finch, Curator and University Archivist.

I shall send you another picture take your choice, sell one keep the other, sell it for \$25 - 50 or \$100 sell it for what it will bring and place to our credit of course deducting your commission cost of frame & stretcher & c. The CP.RR is drawing close to our doors and in a few months we shall be linked to civilization. Then Mr Savage & I shall look for you and do our best to show you the wild & Rocky beauties of Utah. And until that renewal of our friendship & better acquaintance believe me

Yours truly
G. M. Ottinger

To S. R. Wells Esq.
New York City

P.S. If you can advance my name or add to my reputation by exhibiting my pictures at the National Academy I would be very thankful Use your own good judgement about it—

A PHRENOLOGIST DESCRIBES OTTINGER

A few months after he had received Ottinger's letter, Wells struck out once again in behalf of the Mormon painter. He devoted several columns of the March 1869 issue of his *American Phrenological Journal* to the phrenology, portrait, and biography of George M. Ottinger, "The Utah Artist."⁸

Here is a full-sized brain; a tough, flexible, and enduring body, made up of the motive, mental, and vital temperaments fairly blended. It is comparatively easy for such an organization to work hard, . . . The head is high and long, rather than low and broad. Benevolence is the largest of the moral organs, and Destructiveness is among the smaller of the propensities. . . . Approbativeness, Conscientiousness, and Firmness are large; while Self-Esteem and Concentrativeness are less fully developed. He will be ambitious to excel; honorable and honest in his transactions with others. Acquisitiveness and Secretiveness are small, and his love of money is limited by his necessities. . . . The social feelings are fully indicated in the chin and lips. There is large Imitation and full Constructiveness. He can copy nature, and would be expert in the use of tools.

The intellect, as a whole, is above the average. He is both a correct observer and a clear thinker. There is enough Ideality to give taste, refinement, and love for the beautiful; but not enough to make him a wild, imaginative romancer. He will work with nature in her calm and quiet aspects, rather than in her wild and tempestuous moods.

⁸*American Phrenological Journal* 49:3 (March 1869), pp. 109-110.

Still, there must be an ardent love for her hills, her forests, and her plains, . . . We know our subject to be an artist, and claim nothing for Phrenology in this delineation. But he is more than an artist,—he is a fully fledged man—a matured human being. . . .

Mr. Ottinger has not suffered the grand landscape about the “city of the saints” to remain unappreciated. His pencil and brush have been much employed in transferring to paper and canvas its peculiar features. . . . his productions . . . evince the free touch, originality, and freshness of a sprightly and progressive lover of nature, and point to future achievements of enviable excellence.

Some of his paintings—the most noteworthy—we may mention. “Who Will Care for Mother Now?”—an incident of the battle-field “Independence Rock;” “City Creek Falls,” now in the possession of Mr. Schuyler Colfax; “Overland Pony Express,” engraved and published by *Harper's Weekly*; “The Last of the Aztecs,” a large picture, telling of departed greatness.

Not long after Ottinger's portrait looked out from the pages of the *American Phrenological Journal*, the phrenologist Wells paid a visit to Salt Lake City, finding it regularly laid out in blocks with wide streets and large mansions, the office of Wells Fargo not far from the Salt Lake Hotel. “Utah,” he concluded, “is a great country, and Brigham Young was her prophet.”⁹

Wells' enthusiasm for the city and its artists persisted and was reflected in the pages of his monthly, where in 1870 and 1871 he featured articles on the sociological problems of the Mormons, the Utah Gentiles, and the Mormon question. He was especially interested in “The Utah Reformers, as they styled themselves,” who in November and December 1869 had “made a bold stroke of rebellion against the power of Brigham Young.” This apparent schism in Mormon ideology inspired Wells to make the following interesting comments:

Though we did not lecture or make any professional examinations on our recent visit to Salt Lake City, we have examined the heads of hundreds of the representative men and women of the Mormons, and made ourselves acquainted with the people.

Savage and Ottinger, of the artists, are, . . . one from England, the other from Philadelphia; but Mr. Ottinger

⁹*American Phrenological Journal* 51:6 (December 1870), p. 416.

is an American artist who has settled down and cast his destiny with the Mormons rather than an original Mormon Elder. . . .

Reformers - men of large heads, with the philosophical and idealistic development, and they design to publish an elaborate system of spiritual and moral philosophy, and also a complete system of social science from the standpoint of "Reformed Mormonism." They are . . . universalian in their mental tendencies, and therefore unfit for a theocracy of "chosen people."¹⁰

A feature on "Leaders in the Mormon Reform Movement," with portraits of such "new movers" as Eli B. Kelsey, the iconoclast of Utah Reformers, and Joseph Salisbury, leader of the working classes, continued to be emblazoned in the pages of the *American Phrenological Journal*.¹¹

It was Wells' articles on those Utah Reformers that motivated the following letter from C. R. Savage:¹²

Salt Lake City
June 27th 1871

Friend Wells -

Yours to hand—I am much flattered at your opinion of me. I do not think however that while you represent the great living spirits of the present day that I am entitled to any prominence above my fellows—certainly I have pioneered the interior west photographically moreover I have endeavoured to infuse a love of art among the people and have maintained the only art Gallery in any of the Territories. I have also pulled the sage brush and planted the vine, so have hundreds of others here—

We the Mormons do not realize that the eyes of the world are on us so much; the love of money will make some men do almost any thing, but it was not the love of money that built up our country—it was a higher, loftier, principle and power of action. New Moveism would never have accomplished this much—it lacks the power of concentration—it lacks unity—it lacks faith—for my part my faith in the overruling power of God towards us was never greater than at present.

I notice you give prominence to some of the so called reformers of Utah—*Heaven save the mark* What the Com-

¹⁰*American Phrenological Journal* 52:1 (January 1871), pp. 44-45. See also *Ibid.* 51:5 (November 1871), pp. 328-333.

¹¹*Ibid.* 53:1 (July 1871), pp. 30-40.

¹²The original is among the Fowler Family Papers, Collection of Regional History, Cornell University Library, and is reproduced by courtesy of Mr. Herbert Finch, Curator and University Archivist.

munists were to Paris, so would the *New Movers* be to Utah. They *the Reformers* would pull down and destroy what has taken 22 years to build up—What can they give in return for the faith *once delived* [sic] *to the saints—vain philosophy—wordy moonshine* of an impracticable character. If I could find one less drunkard a less number of thieves—or *blasphemers* through any of their *reforms* I would thank God for the movement.

I think, Bro. Wells, you ought to go slow in lending your paper too much to the interests of the so called *liberal party*—did you live here you would pronounce them unmitigated tyrants that same Salisbury was known to utter the following sentiment while denouncing his old faith said he — *damn Jesus Christ*. As the party deny the mission of Christ you can see where they land—but I must stop—I denounce them as a set of humbugs—whose efforts will destroy more than build up—and their counterpart may clearly be seen in the doings of the Communists of Paris—they have refused to celebrate the 4th of July in our Tabernacle because it is devoted to the interests of the Kingdom of God—they have taken sides against the sovereign people here—and look forward to the speedy overthrow of the Mormon Church, & people. They will look in vain—we'll weed them out.

This is the character of the reformer. But I am sorry to say the reverse is the case. Men who under the influence of the old faith left off tobacco—whisky, &c, now think they have the liberty to use the article the reformers can be seen exemplifying their liberty by falling back upon errors they once left—the same Eli B Kelsey you speak of so highly would have cut me off from the Church years ago, for the commission of any act violating the word of wisdom he now struts our streets smoking the biggest cigar he can find. I only mention this to show that their reform is a humbug—no reform will help a people if it does not make them better—What I love in my faith is that it brings to bear upon our every day life a constant controlling power to restrain men in all their actions.

I do not say there are not some good men amongst them, but they are very few. Co-operation that they please to style an oligarchy—is a great success and a godsend to the people.

You must excuse the scrawl I send you I am attending to the counter and trying to write this—the foregoing are my honest sentiments. When you call such men reformers you ought to go slow—

My regards to Mrs Wells—
and best wishes to yourself—

C. R. Savage

When next you dwell upon *Utah* give the men who make the country prominence and not upstarts under the guise of reformers—You may think me severe but I have strong reasons for it.

During the few years still allotted to him Samuel R. Wells dwelt less upon Utah Reformers than upon reforms closer to home. Both Savage and Ottinger, however, continued their work, although their partnership was dissolved. While Ottinger became the spokesman for the glories of Utah art,¹³ Savage opened his own Art Bazaar as "headquarters for views of Rocky Mountain Scenery and Portraits of Utah's Celebrities."¹⁴ At his establishment on Main Street, visitors having sat for their photographic likenesses might purchase not only Mormon publications, books and albums, but a souvenir casket of Great Salt Lake containing a vial of the water and the sand of the shore. Mrs. Frank Leslie, visiting Salt Lake City during the grand transcontinental tour organized by her husband, the newspaper magnate, Frank Leslie, naturally paid a visit to Charles R. Savage, the town's "principal photographer," who "freely admitted himself to be a Mormon, somewhat defiantly stating that he had nailed his colors to the mast."¹⁵ By that time, his erstwhile partner, Ottinger, had painted hundreds of pictures and, when Brigham Young died on August 29, 1877, it was Ottinger who made the cast of his face and took the measurements—a technique which he had perhaps learned from the phrenologist, Samuel R. Wells.

At all events, the trio of Savage, Ottinger, and Wells had learned much from one another, and their relationship, though brief, had been fruitful. The Rocky Mountain Book Store, built up by Savage and Ottinger, specialists in Utah art and photography, had, through Wells' publicity, been made known to the East. With the country's increased awareness of the beauties of Western scenery, a powerful impetus was given to the arts that recorded it.

¹³G. M. Ottinger, "The Salt Lake City," *The Art Journal* XIV (1875), p. 268.

¹⁴C. R. Savage, *Pictorial Reflex of Salt Lake City and Vicinity* (Salt Lake City [1893]); C. R. Savage, *Views of Utah and Tourists' Guide* (Salt Lake City [1887]).

¹⁵Mrs. Frank Leslie, *California A Pleasure Trip from Gotham to the Golden Gate* (New York: Carleton, 1877), pp. 75-77.

Some Significant Texts of Joseph Smith's Inspired Version of the Bible

ROBERT J. MATTHEWS*

My first article in the Autumn 1968 issue of *BYU Studies* dealt primarily with the *making* of the Inspired Version of the Bible. It considered two major aspects: (1) the preparation of the manuscript notes by the Prophet Joseph Smith and his scribes, and (2) the publication of the printed editions by The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS). This article will discuss a number of passages that are unique to the Inspired Version and also some of the implications in the text that are frequently overlooked.

There are at least three levels at which one may read the Inspired Version. The first and simplest level is to compare it with the King James Version to find the variant readings. The second and perhaps the most informative level is to analyze each variant to determine the actual change in meaning that resulted from the Inspired Version rendition. The third and most difficult level is to examine the Inspired Version not only for content but also for style. This level is not limited to *what* is said but also involves an analysis of *how* it is said. The third level is particularly important because it deals with the question of whether the Inspired Version is a restoration of the original text of the Bible. Although not all of the variants in the Inspired Version are suitable for this kind of critical examination, a number of passages are thus suited, and these are highly interesting and even provocative when analyzed. Such passages have characteristics about them which strongly suggest inspiration and even restoration of the original text in some instances.

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The first level described above was essentially the subject of the first article and will be given no further explanation at this point. The remainder of this article will discuss the second level (passages of subject-matter significance) and the third level (passages that have significance because of form in addition to content). Although there is often an overlapping of these areas in which a passage fits both categories, there is enough distinction between them to justify treating them separately. Limitations of time and space will permit only a sampling of these categories.

The major subject-matter revisions involved in the Inspired Version are doctrinal, and deal with the nature of God, the nature of man, the atonement, priesthood, the kingdom of God, the building of Zion, salvation, obedience, the first principles of the gospel, the resurrection, and similar items. Little is given of a geographical, geological, or cultural nature, although there are some references that may be so applied.

The King James Version contains many passages that convey the idea that God repents. The very idea seems inconsistent with and contradictory to the nature of a righteous and perfected Deity, and the thought that the very God of heaven should have need to repent is to many persons unthinkable.

The problem is somewhat diminished with the realization that the Hebrew word which is frequently translated "repent," actually has the connotation of "breathing a heavy sigh" rather than the meaning of repenting. Consistent with this, the Inspired Version contains many passages that were amended by the Prophet Joseph so that they no longer convey the idea that the Lord repented in the usual sense of the word. Following are a few examples. (Throughout this article the corresponding passage from the King James Version is given for comparison. The italics in the Inspired Version are mine for emphasis.)

King James Version	Inspired Version ¹
Ex. 32:14 And the Lord repented of the evil which he thought to do unto his people.	Ex. 32:14 And the Lord <i>said unto Moses, If they will repent of the evil which they have done, I will spare them, and turn away my fierce wrath;</i>

¹The "New Corrected Edition" of the Inspired Version printed in 1947 is used throughout this article. A preference for the "New Corrected Edition" was explained in the former article.

1 Sam. 15:11 It repenteth me that I have set up Saul to be king:

2 Sam. 24:16 . . . the Lord repented him of the evil, and said to the angel that destroyed the people, It is enough: stay now thine hand.

Ps. 135:14 For the Lord will judge his people, and he will repent himself concerning his servants.

Jer. 42:10 . . . for I repent me of the evil that I have done unto you.

Amos 7:3 The Lord repented for this:

7:6 The Lord repented for this: This also shall not be, saith the Lord God.

Jonah 3:10 And God saw their works, that they turned from their evil way; and God repented of the evil, that he had said that he would do unto them; and he did it not.

1 Sam. 15:11 I have set up Saul to be king, *and he repenteth not that he hath sinned, . . .*

2 Sam. 24:16 . . . *for the people repented, and the Lord stayed the hand of the angel, . . .*

Ps. 135:14 For the Lord will judge his people, and he will *not* repent himself concerning his servants.

Jer. 42:10 . . . and I will *turn away* the evil that I have done unto you.

Amos 7:3 *And* the Lord said, concerning Jacob, *Jacob shall repent* for this, . . .

7:6 *And the Lord said, concerning Jacob, Jacob shall repent of his wickedness; therefore I will not utterly destroy him, saith the Lord.*

Jonah 3:10 And God saw their works that they turned from their evil way *and repented; and God turned away* the evil that he had said he would *bring upon* them.

Other passages in which the Prophet made the same type of changes about the Lord repenting are found in Genesis 6:67 (Genesis 8:13-15 in the Inspired Version); Psalms 135:14; Jeremiah 18:8-10; and Jeremiah 26:3, 13, 19.

WHO HARDENS HEARTS?

In a similar vein, the Lord does not harden anyone's heart in the Inspired Version. In each of the following passages the Inspired Version renders the statement so that the Lord was not the responsible agent in hardening someone's heart.

King James Version
Ex. 4:21 . . . but I will harden his heart, that he shall not let the people go.

Inspired Version
Ex. 4:21 . . . but *Pharaoh* will harden his heart, *and* he will not let the people go.

Ex. 7:3 And I will harden Pharaoh's heart, . . .

Ex. 7:3 And *Pharaoh* will harden *his* heart, as I said unto thee.

See also Exodus 7:13; 9:12; 10:1, 20, 27; and 11:10 for additional passages of this kind.

Along this same general topic are two passages from Isaiah:

King James Version

Isa. 6:9 And he said, Go, and tell this people, Hear ye indeed, but understand not; and see ye indeed, but perceive not.

Isa. 63:17 O Lord, why hast thou made us to err from thy ways, and hardened our heart from thy fear?

Inspired Version

Isa. 6:9 And he said, Go, and tell this people, Hear ye indeed, *but* they *understood* not; and see ye indeed, but *they* perceived *not*.

Isa. 63:17 O Lord, why hast thou *suffered* us to err from thy ways, and *to harden* our heart from thy fear?

Each of the foregoing Old Testament passages illustrates the positive direction of the Inspired Version away from the concept that the Lord leads people to evil or hardens their hearts against doing good, and this rendering is in agreement with the following change in the Lord's Prayer:

King James Version

Matt. 6:13 And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil:

Inspired Version

Matt. 6:14 And *suffer us not to be led* into temptation, but deliver us from evil.

Many of the passages used above to illustrate the nature of Deity also suggest something about the nature of man. Since God neither hardens men's hearts nor leads them toward sin, it is evident that men are to that extent left untrammelled. The Inspired Version, however, goes further than this in its explanation of man's nature. Just as the Lord does not harden the hearts of men or turn them away from God, neither does he unconditionally force eternal life upon them.

CALLED TO ETERNAL LIFE

The Inspired Version takes exception to many Bible passages which imply that because some men are "called to eternal life" they are thereby able to do good works. It reverses the view and suggests that good works make it possible for one to be "called" to eternal life. This is illustrated in the following passages:

King James Version

Acts 13:48 And when the Gentiles heard this, they were glad, and glorified the word of the Lord: and as many as were ordained to eternal life believed.

Inspired Version

Acts 13:48 And when the Gentiles heard this, they were glad, and glorified the word of the Lord; and as many as *believed* were *ordained unto* eternal life.

Another passage that shows the same consistency of doctrine follows:

King James Version

1 Cor. 1:23 But we preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumblingblock, and unto the Greeks foolishness;
1:24 But unto them which are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God.

Inspired Version

1 Cor. 1:23 But we preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumblingblock, and unto the Greeks foolishness;
1:24 But unto them *who believe*, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God.

The King James Version gives no hint as to the age of accountability of children. However, the Inspired Version deals with the matter as follows:

King James Version

Gen. 17:7 And I will establish my covenant between me and thee and thy seed after thee in their generations. . . .

Inspired Version

Gen. 17:11 And I will establish *a covenant of circumcision with thee, and it shall be* my covenant between me and thee, and they seed after thee, in their generations; *that thou mayest know for ever that children are not accountable before me until they are eight years old.*

The exact relationship between circumcision and accountability is not explained, but the Inspired Version definitely declares what the age of accountability is.

While in Galilee with the Twelve, Jesus taught the people that little children were without need of repentance. This doctrine is emphasized in the Inspired Version rendition:

King James Version

Matt. 18:10 Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones; for I say unto you, That in heaven their angels

Inspired Version

Matt. 18:10 Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones; for I say unto you, that in heaven their angels do

do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven.

18:11 For the Son of man is come to save that which was lost.

always behold the face of my Father *who* is in heaven.

18:11 For the Son of Man is come to save that which was lost, *and to call sinners to repentance; but these little ones have no need of repentance, and I will save them.*

A short time later, when Jesus and the Twelve had gone into Judea, the people brought little children unto Jesus, "that he [might] put his hands on them and pray: and the disciples rebuked them." Evidently the Twelve felt that the Judeans had not heard their Lord's teachings concerning little children; for the Inspired Version gives the reason why they sought to prevent the people from bringing their little ones. Note the following:

King James Version

Matt. 19:13 Then were there brought unto him little children, that he should put his hands on them, and pray: and the disciples rebuked them.

19:14 But Jesus said, Suffer little children, and forbid them not, to come unto me.

Inspired Version

Matt. 19:13 Then were there brought unto him little children, that he should put his hands on them and pray. And the disciples rebuked them, *saying, There is no need, for Jesus hath said, Such shall be saved.*

19:14 But Jesus said, Suffer little children *to come unto me*, and forbid them not, . . .

These additions supplied by the Prophet not only attest to the sinless state of childhood, but give an otherwise unattainable insight into the reason why the Twelve tried to prevent the people from bringing their children to Jesus. Without the Inspired Version, we can have but scant appreciation of this matter. The disciples remembered what Jesus had said in Galilee about little children needing no repentance, and therefore proceeded to inform the Judeans that there was no need to have Jesus bless the children. They apparently acted in good faith but simply did not understand the full meaning of Jesus' teaching—that Jesus was willing to bless the children and lay hands on them, even though children did not need repentance and baptism. The Inspired Version weaves this principle into the narrative in a very casual and natural way.

Another significant feature of the Inspired Version occurs in Romans, Chapter 7. As the chapter stands in the King James Version, Paul says that he is carnal and sinful; that the good he would do, he does not do, and the evil he would not do, he does do. All of this is written in the present tense, signifying that even after experiencing the cleansing power of the gospel Paul is still under sin, for he says "to will is present with me; but *how* to perform that which is good I find not." (v. 18) The chapter concludes with Paul saying that with his flesh he serves the law of sin.

These are strange statements for Paul to make about himself when in so many other instances he explains that when he was under the law he was a sinner, but Christ freed him, and through Christ he walks not after the flesh but after the spirit. (See Romans 8:4-5, 10.)

In the Inspired Version these passages are worded in a manner to draw a distinction between Paul's life under the law (of Moses) as compared with his life after he received the gospel of Jesus Christ. In the Inspired Version, Paul says that when he was under the law he was carnal, but now, with the gospel, he is spiritual, concluding that he would serve the law of sin with his flesh if he subdued not the sin in him:

King James Version
Rom. 7:14 For we know that the law is spiritual: but I am carnal, sold under sin.

7:15 For that which I do I allow not: for what I would, that do I not; but what I hate, that do I.

7:16 If then I do that which I would not, I consent unto the law that it is good.

Inspired Version
Rom. 7:14 For we know that the *commandment* is spiritual; but *when I was under the law, I was yet* carnal, sold under sin.

7:15 *But now I am spiritual; for that which I am commanded to do, I do; and that which I am commanded not to allow, I allow not.*

7:16 *For what I know is not right, I would not do; for that which is sin, I hate.*

7:17 If then I do *not* that which I would not *allow*, I consent unto the law, that it is good; *and I am not condemned.*

7:17 Now then it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me.

7:18 For I know that in me (that is, in my flesh,) dwelleth no good thing: for to will is present with me; but *how* to perform that which is good I find not.

7:19 For the good that I would I do not: but the evil which I would not, that I do.

7:20 Now if I do that I would not, it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me.

7:21 I find then a law, that, when I would do good, evil is present with me.

7:22 For I delight in the law of God after the inward man:

7:23 But I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members.

7:24 O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?

7:18 Now then, it is no more I that do *sin*; but *I seek to subdue that sin which dwelleth in me.*

7:19 For I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing; for to will is present with me, but to perform that which is good I find not, *only in Christ.*

7:20 For the good that I would *have done when under the law, I find not to be good; therefore, I do it not.*

7:21 But the evil which I would not *do under the law, I find to be good; that, I do.*

7:22 Now if I do that, *through the assistance of Christ, I would not do under the law, I am not under the law; and it is no more that I seek to do wrong, but to subdue sin that dwelleth in me.*

7:23 I find then *that under the law, that when I would do good evil was present with me; for I delight in the law of God after the inward man.*

7:24 *And now I see another law, even the commandment of Christ, and it is imprinted in my mind.*

7:25 *But my members are warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members.*

7:26 *And if I subdue not the sin which is in me, but with the flesh serve the law of sin; O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?*

7:25 I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord. So then with the mind I myself serve the law of God; but with the flesh the law of sin.

7:27 I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord, then, that so with the mind I myself serve the law of God.

The whole tenor of the Inspired Version rendition is that the gospel changed Paul and gave him a power over sin that he did not have before. This great message is Paul's dynamic testimony of the power that Christ can have in a human life, that Christ is the enabling power to salvation.

The King James Version fails to place sufficient emphasis on the change that the gospel had made on Paul's nature, and this makes the chapter out of tune with many of Paul's other statements, whereas the Inspired Version brings the chapter into harmony with the totality of Paul's teaching about the merits of Christ. The King James Version not only lacks the vitality of the Inspired Version in this chapter, but it gives a false impression of Paul's life after his conversion—it denies the full power of the gospel.

The King James Version lists certain blessings that the Father will give to men and then adds, "O ye of little faith." The Inspired Version reads a little differently and qualifies the promise as follows:

King James Version

Matt. 6:30 Wherefore, if God so clothe the grass of the field, which to day is, and to morrow is cast into the oven, shall he not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith?

Inspired Version

Matt. 6:34 Therefore, if God so clothe the grass of the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, *how much more will he not provide for you, if ye are not of little faith.*

A similar rendition is also found in Luke 12:30 of the Inspired Version.

The very well-known passage admonishing man to seek first the kingdom of God received a change of major importance in the Inspired Version:

King James Version

Matt. 6:33 But seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his

Inspired Version

Matt. 6:38 *Wherefore, seek not the things of this world*

righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you.

but seek ye first *to build up* the kingdom of God, and *to establish* his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you.

The significant change in this passage directs man to be engaged in building the kingdom and establishing righteousness on the earth, whereas the implication in the King James Version is that man need only seek the kingdom, which apparently is already established.

Because of the particular way that the King James Version cautions against rendering judgment, many have felt it to be wrong to judge at all. However, the Inspired Version alters the statement to say that the important thing is *how* the judgment is made. Note the following:

King James Version

Matt. 7:1 Judge not, that ye be not judged.

Inspired Version

Matt. 7:2 Judge not *unrighteously*, that ye be not judged; *but judge righteous judgment.*

In still another selection the King James Version represents Paul as saying that the Church is the pillar and ground of the truth. The Inspired Version alters this verse by relating it to Christ:

King James Version

1 Tim. 3:15 But if I tarry long, that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God, which is the church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth.

3:16 And without controversy great is the mystery of godliness: God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory.

Inspired Version

1 Tim. 3:15 But if I tarry long, that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God, which is the church of the living God.

3:16 The pillar and ground of the truth *is*, (and without controversy, great is the mystery of godliness,) God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of the angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory.

The well-known passage where charity covers sins is rendered thus by the hand of the Prophet Joseph:

King James Version

1 Pe. 4:8 And above all things have fervent charity among yourselves: for charity shall cover the multitude of sins.

Inspired Version

1 Pe. 4:8 And above all things have fervent charity among yourselves; for charity *preventeth* a multitude of sins.

The Bible has many figurative expressions and in some instances the Inspired Version clarifies and explains them. For example, the injunction to take up thy cross and follow me is given several times in the scriptures, and is understood to be a figurative expression. The Inspired Version explains what it means:

King James Version

Matt. 16:24 Then said Jesus unto his disciples, If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me.

Inspired Version

Matt. 16:25 Then said Jesus unto his disciples, If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me.

16:26 And now for a man to take up his cross, is to deny himself all ungodliness, and every worldly lust, and keep my commandments.

16:27 Break not my commandments for to save your lives; . . .

The figurative expression to cut off a foot or hand if it offends is clarified by the Inspired Version thus:

King James Version

Mark 9:43 And if thy hand offend thee, cut it off: it is better for thee to enter into life maimed, than having two hands to go to hell, into the fire that never shall be quenched:

Inspired Version

Mark 9:40 *Therefore*, if thy hand offend thee, cut it off; *for if thy brother offend thee and confess not and forsake not, he shall be cut off.* It is better for thee to enter into life maimed, than having two hands, to go to hell.

9:41 *For it is better for thee to enter into life without thy brother, than for thee and thy brother to be cast into hell; into the fire that never shall be*

9:44 Where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.

9:45 And if thy foot offend thee, cut it off: it is better for thee to enter halt into life, than having two feet to be cast into hell, into the fire that never shall be quenched.

9:46 Where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.

9:47 And if thine eye offend thee, pluck it out: it is better for thee to enter into the kingdom of God with one eye, than having two eyes to be cast into hell fire:

9:48 Where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.

Of a similar expression found in Matthew 18:9, the Inspired Version makes the explanation that "*a man's hand is his friend, and his foot, also; and a man's eye, are they of his own household.*"

That the disciples were to be selective and even restrictive in teaching the gospel, especially to those who were not ready, is offered as the meaning of the figurative expression about not casting pearls before swine. This is shown by the following:

quenched, where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.

9:42 And *again*, if thy foot offend thee, cut it off; *for he that is thy standard, by whom thou walkest, if he become a transgressor, he shall be cut off.*

9:43 It is better for thee to enter halt into life, than having two feet to be cast into hell; into the fire that never shall be quenched.

9:44 Therefore, let every man stand or fall, by himself, and not for another; or not trusting another.

9:45 Seek unto my Father, and it shall be done in that very moment what ye shall ask, if ye ask in faith, believing that ye shall receive.

9:46 And if thine eye *which seeth for thee, him that is appointed to watch over thee to show thee light, become a transgressor and offend thee, pluck him out.*

9:47 It is better for thee to enter into the kingdom of God, with one eye, than having two eyes to be cast into hell fire.

9:48 *For it is better that thyself should be saved, than to be cast into hell with thy brother, where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.*

King James Version

Matt. 7:6 Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend you.

7:7 Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you.

Inspired Version

Matt. 7:10 *And the mysteries of the kingdom ye shall keep within yourselves; for it is not meet to give that which is holy unto the dogs; neither cast ye your pearls unto swine, lest they trample them under their feet.*

7:11 *For the world cannot receive that which ye, yourselves, are not able to bear; wherefore ye shall not give your pearls unto them, lest they turn again and rend you.*

7:12 *Say unto them, Ask of God; ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you.*

The King James Version contains the injunction that the Lord had given to men and animals the green herbs of the field for food. It specifies every *green* herb. The Inspired Version altered this as follows:

King James Version

Gen. 1:29 And God said, Behold, I have given you every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of the earth . . . to you it shall be for meat.

1:30 And to every beast of the earth, and to every fowl of the air, and to every thing that creepeth upon the earth, wherein there is life, I have given every green herb for meat: and it was so.

Inspired Version

Gen. 1:31 And *I*, God, said *unto man*, Behold, I have given you every herb, bearing seed, which is upon the face of the earth . . . to you it shall be for meat.

1:32 And to every beast of the earth, and to every fowl of the air, and to everything that creepeth upon the earth, wherein *I grant* life, there shall be given every *clean* herb for meat; and it was so, *even as I spake*.

Although the Inspired Version differs from the King James Version in several instances in the foregoing passage, the most significant seems to be that the Lord did not order every *green* herb as food for living beings, but every *clean* herb. It would seem inconsistent that every green herb was intended as food,

since that would include not only all of the edibles, but such things as poison ivy, poison oak, tobacco, marijuana, and a number of other green plants that are nonfoods.

Passages from the Inspired Version that have special importance because of their form (the third level referred to in the forepart of this article) are not so numerous as the subject-matter passages but are given special treatment in this discussion because they offer clues and suggestions about the Inspired Version being a restoration of the original Biblical text.

Although the words are only vehicles by which the Prophet Joseph Smith conveyed the thought he wished to give in each passage, the particular form and structure that he gave to these words may very well be a reflection of the inspiration that came to him in making the Inspired Version.

For example, the Prophet arranged several passages in the Inspired Version as conversation between Jesus and his disciples, or, in some instances, between Jesus and the Jewish rulers. Although the subject matter of the conversation is important, it is also intriguing that the Prophet chose to place these ideas in this particular form.

The following passages from the Sermon on the Mount illustrate one of these situations.

King James Version

Matt. 7:1 Judge not, that ye be not judged.

7:2 For with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged: and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.

7:3 And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?

Inspired Version

Matt. 7:1 Now these are the words which Jesus taught his disciples that they should say unto the people.

7:2 Judge not *unrighteously*, that ye be not judged; *but judge righteous judgment.*

7:3 For with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged, and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.

7:4 And *again, ye shall say unto them, Why is it that thou beholdest the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye.*

7:6 And Jesus said unto his disciples, Beholdest thou the Scribes, and the Pharisees, and

7:5 Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye.

7:9 Oh what man is there of you, whom if his son ask bread, will he give him a stone?

the Priests, and the Levites? They teach in their synagogues, but do not observe the law, nor the commandments; and all have gone out of the way, and are under sin.

7:7 Go thou and say unto them, Why teach ye men the law and the commandments, when ye yourselves are the children of corruption?

7:8 *Say unto them, Ye hypocrites, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye.*

7:14 And then said his disciples unto him, they will say unto us, We ourselves are righteous, and need not that any man should teach us. God, we know, heard Moses and some of the prophets; but us he will not hear.

7:15 And they will say, We have the law for our salvation, and that is sufficient for us.

7:16 Then Jesus answered, and said unto his disciples, thus shall ye say unto them,

7:17 What man among you having a son, and he shall be standing out, and shall say, Father, open thy house that I may come in and sup with thee, will not say, Come in, my son; for mine is thine and thine mine?

7:18 Or what man is there *among you, who* if his son ask bread, will give him a stone?

It should be noted in the foregoing passages that in the midst of the Savior's instruction a discussion developed between Jesus and his disciples concerning how they would take the

gospel to the Jewish rulers. It appears that the disciples were hesitant to debate with the Pharisees and Scribes, whereupon Jesus told his disciples how to reply to the Jewish leaders. The point to be observed is that either this discussion between the Master and the disciples took place or it did not. That is, it is an historical event or it is not. Joseph Smith inserts the discussion as part of the Sermon on the Mount in such a manner as to give every indication that he regarded it an actual event that took place during the delivery of the Sermon.

The question might be raised whether the Prophet actually restored the text as Matthew wrote it, or whether, being the seer that he was, he went even beyond Matthew's text and recorded an event that actually took place during the delivery of the Sermon, but which Matthew did not include. This cannot be determined with certainty; nevertheless, the way in which Joseph Smith inserted the passage permits this type of reconstruction. Since the Prophet was dealing with scripture and knew the importance of the word of God, it is unlikely that he would "add or take from" unless he did it by the authority of divine revelation. We have no record of the Prophet taking such liberties with other sacred writing and there seems to be no valid reason to suspect that he was careless with injecting new thought into the Sermon on the Mount.

An event in Church history concerning the language of revelation probably has some relevance to this point. When Elder William E. M'Lellin failed in an attempt to imitate the language of scripture written by the Prophet as contained in the Book of Commandments, the Prophet made the following observations:

William E. M'Lellin, as the wisest man, in his own estimation, having more learning than sense, endeavored to write a commandment like unto one of the least of the Lord's but failed; *it was an awful responsibility to write in the name of the Lord.* The Elders and all present that witnessed this vain attempt of a man *to imitate the language of Jesus Christ,* renewed their faith in the fullness of the Gospel, and in the truth of the commandments and revelations which the Lord had given to the Church through my instrumentality. (Italics mine.)²

²DHC 1:226.

This experience in the language and form of scripture took place in November 1831 during the same period of time in which the Prophet was engaged almost daily in the revision of the New Testament. He presented the passages from the revision of the Sermon on the Mount as the words of Jesus to his disciples, and it is not likely that the Prophet would try to "imitate the language of Jesus Christ." The *how* of the Prophet's revision of the Sermon on the Mount calls for an expression of inspiration and could represent either a restoration of material that was once in Matthew's account of the Sermon, or could go beyond Matthew and reiterate an event immediately behind the text which took place during the Sermon but which Matthew did not record.

Another example of direct discourse found only in the Inspired Version is Matthew 9:18-21, which tells of a confrontation between Jesus and the Pharisees and relates an exchange of information about the subject of baptism that is not recorded in the King James Version.

King James Version

[No text—what was added between Verses 15 and 16 seems to fit.]

Inspired Version

Matt. 9:18 Then said the Pharisees unto him, Why will ye not receive us with our baptism, seeing we keep the whole law?

9:19 But Jesus said unto them, Ye keep not the law. If ye had kept the law, ye would have received me, for I am he who gave the law.

9:20 I receive not you with your baptism, because it profiteth you nothing.

9:21 For when that which is new is come, the old is ready to be put away.

As with the earlier example the question may again be asked whether this encounter between Jesus and the Pharisees actually took place as recorded in the Inspired Version. It is either historical or it is not. If not historical then it would simply be a literary device used by the Prophet to convey a doctrine; but since the Prophet is not known to use devices of this kind in the other volumes of scripture that he produced, there is con-

siderable reason to believe that the Prophet regarded this passage as a statement of historical fact. It seems reasonable to conclude that the Inspired Version at this point represents either a restoration of Mathew's original record or an addition of an event that took place in the ministry of Jesus which Matthew did not record but which is, nevertheless, germane to the discussion in Matthew's account.

Other examples of this kind found only in the Inspired Version are Matthew 12:37-38; Luke 14:35-36; and Luke 16:16-23.

In each of the foregoing instances the subject matter is important but there is also importance in the fact that the messages purport to record actual historical events in the Savior's ministry. These passages have more meaning than the recording of mere subject matter.

Another interesting item in this category occurs in Luke 3:19-20 of the Inspired Version, which is inserted in the midst of the account of John the Baptist's preaching. The passage consists of a personal and direct note from Luke to a Gentile acquaintance named Theophilus. This personal note is not found in the King James Version, but the style of the insertion implies that the Prophet regarded the passage as an authentic Lucan comment. The passage is as follows:

King James Version

Luke 3:12 Then came also publicans to be baptized, and said unto him, Master, what shall we do?

3:13 And he said unto them, Exact no more than that which is appointed you.

Inspired Version

Luke 3:17 Then came also publicans to be baptized, and said unto him, Master, what shall we do?

3:18 And he said unto them, Exact no more than that which is appointed *unto* you.

3:19 For it is well known unto you, Theophilus, that after the manner of the Jews, and according to the custom of their law in receiving money into the treasury, that out of the abundance which was received, was appointed unto the poor, every man his portion;

3:20 And after this manner did the publicans also, where-

	fore John said unto them, Exact no more than that which is appointed you.
3:14 And the soldiers likewise demanded of him, . . .	3:21 And the soldiers likewise demanded of him . . .

This unique passage in the Inspired Version is addressed to Theophilus to explain a matter of Jewish law and custom. Why would the Prophet use a literary device of this kind unless he were actually recounting something from Luke's original account? If the explanation were intended by Joseph for latter-day readers only, why was it addressed to the first-century Theophilus? As with the earlier examples, this passage seems to convey more than mere subject matter.

If the examples discussed in this section are restorations of actual events, they could be worded just as they are without further explanation or commentary, and the simplest conclusion appears to be that the Prophet intended these items to be so recognized.

It should be emphasized again that these conclusions do not apply to the entire Inspired Version, since there are only a limited number of readings that have particular characteristics. It is probable that the Inspired Version is many things, and that only portions of it represent restorations while other portions may be explanations, interpolations, enlargements, clarifications and the like.

The science of textual criticism offers an objection to the Inspired Version being a restoration of the original text on the basis that the Prophet's work is not extensively supported by the many ancient manuscripts and fragments of the Bible that are now in common use by scholars. However, this may possibly be accounted for in two ways. First, no original manuscripts of the Bible are available, and even the earliest available documents are removed from the originals by many decades. Corruption of the texts could have taken place in the intervening years. Second, many of the passages in the Inspired Version may be reiterations of events which were either not recorded by the Biblical writers or were lost before the Bible was compiled, in which case even the original Bible manuscripts would not contain the information.

There are similarities of subject matter, vocabulary and phraseology between the writings of Luke and of Paul that

are enhanced by the Inspired Version. This similarity can be noted in all of the versions of the Bible, but it is increased and fortified in the Inspired Version. Since Paul and Luke are known to have been traveling-companions, it could be expected that their writings would reflect this association and contain similarities of style and subject matter. The important item here is that the situation is magnified in the Inspired Version, which seems consistent with a document that purports to be inspired and which, as a result of this inspiration, contains a freshness and completeness that the other versions no longer possess.

Likewise there are several items exclusive to the Inspired Version that bespeak an internal consistency in the book of Matthew. These matters are worthy of additional study, but space will permit only the mere mention of them without detail, discussion, or example.

This article presents only a few examples that could be cited to illustrate some of the peculiar and interesting points in the text of the Inspired Version. Most examinations of the Inspired Version in the past have studied content only, but this writer believes that a form study of the Inspired Version would be both challenging and rewarding and would demonstrate more fully just what the Inspired Version is. Form study is as yet a relatively unused procedure in studying the Inspired Version and could be a great source of information for this extensive work by the Prophet Joseph Smith.

My analysis leads me to conclude that the Inspired Version is many things. There are passages that are strongly persuasive of being restorations of the original text, or even of historical events beyond the text. There are other passages that may be inspired explanations, but not necessarily restorations. Other items appear to be simply clarifications of ambiguous passages. In any event the subject matter of the Inspired Version is informative, the style is intriguing, and there is still much to be learned about this great work of the Prophet Joseph Smith. The full value of the Inspired Version of the Bible is not yet appreciated.

Poems from
 "Jesus Christ
 The Son of God"

ROBERT N. SCOTT*

There is a moment,
 A flicker between the ember and the ash
 Caught in the dropping of an eyelash,
 A spot both now and then,
 Yet neither now nor then,
 Nor soon to be.

A gap

In the continuum of space where spirit and body are one,
 Where life is a breath of wind
 Playing over the soul, a shadow of light
 Moving across the void,
 Where man is a poet's harp played by the wind.

There is a catch-breath moment,
 A brief flash when two eyes meet,
 Or think they meet,
 When distant memories collide
 In the lacy veils of the mind and we're shown inside
 Where the self-evident world finds
 The less evident self
 And fades from view
 Suddenly losing the form of reality.
 In such a moment where life flickers
 God is,
 Man is,
 Creation is,
 And even I may become I AM.

*Mr. Scott is a master's candidate in English at Brigham Young University.

The sea winds drive the surge
 Against the shore
 Wearing the time-sifted Dust away,
 Until only the Rock shall remain
 Bemantled in emerald and pearl.
 For only the Rock shall remain
 Where the Light flashes gold in the wind
 And the sea shines emerald and pearl.



Who is this God of Moses?
 I don't believe I know of this one.
 There are so many gods these days.
 I should have thought religion
 To be a simpler thing.
 My son, tell me of this new God
 You're always speaking of.
 There are so many.
 Tell me, have you seen this God?
 No, no, of course not.
 No one ever sees the gods.
 They are always of the invisible.
 It must be an awkward life, to be sure — that of a god.
 Always so indefinite.
 And this Moses?
 Is he like the others, half starved and unwashed?

I should have been a prophet,
 Were I not, shall we say,
 So amply incorporated.
 It seems that one cannot be a saint these days
 Unless he is half starved.
 I am thinking that on that account
 Hell shall be more sociable than Heaven.
 They tell me this new God
 Speaks from burning bushes
 And pillars of smoke and fire.
 He is a bit dramatic, don't you think?
 And is it true this God has no Temple?
 And no Temple, uh, virgins?
 How terribly barbaric.
 I should prefer Isis, myself,
 Were this body not so very old, heh, heh, heh.
 I am sorry my son. — I did not mean . . .
 I am an old man and sometimes very foolish.
 You say he calls Himself the God of Israel.
 Well, where has He been all these years?
 Where was He when they took your mother
 As an offering for the temple of Love?
 Is a man supposed to wait all his life for God?
 Another god, my life has been wasted chasing
 After the gods.
 No, you go on with this Moses.
 I am too old for a new god.
 I do not know this one.
 Yet when you speak His name . . .
 Eh! I am a dottering old man.
 Still, His name is like an echo
 Sounding somewhere within me,
 Deep within me. And I tremble.
 No, no, you go on
 I shall die here along with the older gods.
 I have created them. We shall die together.
 Go, go with Moses, leave me!
 My son, offer a dove for an old man,
 An old man too old for this new God.

*This poem was read on KNX-TV, Los Angeles.

Gray shadows slide quietly over the sea
And a cold wind shatters the waters below,
The waters smoothing the black Rocks along the shore.
Suddenly the shadows part
And Light streams through the sky
Striking the sea and bursting
Into a million lambent fires,
Earth-bound stars flashing in the spindrift.
Shimmering in the shaft of Light
A single Gull hovers on the wind,
Soars out, up and poised,
Then flick-flashing gold, white
He drops.
A million times more lovely
His footprint in the sand.

We were a grumbling lot
 Gathered in the Inn that night.
 I don't think there was a room to be had
 In all of Bethlehem.
 Aye, we blessed old Caesar
and damned his hide.
 I left my ship waiting the tide and hurried home.
 I must have kicked every stone in the road
 In honor of his majesty.
 We had just settled down when he came in
 Looking for a room for his bride.
 She was a wee thing and swelled up big with child.
 I kinda felt something for them.
 I don't know why.
 Son, a man don't always know why he feels what he does.
 He just — well, he just does.
 We put them out back in the stable.
 I've slept in worse, I'll tell you.
 Well, it wasn't long before the little lady
 Began her launching. That girl had spunk.
 She slipped that kid down the ways
 Without battin' an eye.
 We furred Him in a swaddling sheet
 And gathered round for a look-see.
 When I looked down at Him I saw such a light
 Flash in His eyes like 'twould calm the sea of Galilee
 When the wind comes out of the night
 Whipping the sea, and a man's life
 Is a little thing torn on the wind.
 He wrapped His hand around my finger
 And squeezed hard.
I was warm inside
 When I lay down to sleep that night,
 Like as if I had walked among the stars
 And shook the hand of God.

Tarry ye here and watch with me.”
 He said to the faithful three.
 The cool night breeze
 Played with the leaves
 Flashing them silver in the moonlight.
 A little further on He went
 Over by the wall where the ivy climbed
 And the honeysuckle perfumed the air.
 There He knelt, troubled,
 Alone in His sorrow,
 Alone with our anguish
 And the three slept.
 Alone
 There in the Garden He wept.
 God forsaken and alone He trembled in pain.
 Alone He ended what began so long ago,
 So long ago in that other Garden
 When first the Leaf fell,
 And Death climbed out of the womb.
 And when it was finished what were His thoughts
 That night in the Garden?
 Of Childhood friends,
 A Mother’s touch,
 A Wife’s caress,
 The Jordan plain flushed gold vermilion
 In the autumn sun,
 The dead white shores of the great salt sea,
 Or the storms that flash over Galilee,
 A fish and five hundred,
 A footprint in the sand,
 The naked, the halt, and the poor
 And the many more He could not reach,
 For there was no time,
 His concern for them who slept
 Who did not really understand.
 Can we ever understand it all,
 The Sacrifice made by a Garden Wall?

Landscape with Pond and Cabin

An Oil Painting

by

Alexander Wyant

A NOTE ON
"LANDSCAPE WITH POND AND CABIN"

WESLEY M. BURNSIDE*

Of the many nineteenth century artists whose style exemplified the tenets of the Hudson River school, Alexander Wyant (1836-1892) is one of the most outstanding. Wyant did not confine himself to the scenes of grand panorama of the Hudson River, however. During his relatively short life span, his style changed from hard-edged foreground forms dissolving in panoramic distance to more intimate, loosely constructed themes of thicket and brook.

Wyant was born in the rural area of Evans Creek, Ohio, and while yet in his youth he determined to become an artist. Before he was twenty he had worked as a sign painter and had begun to idolize the then rising artist, George Inness. His meeting Inness in 1859 while visiting New York proved to be an important stimulus in his early development as an artist.

Another important factor in the development of Wyant's style was the influence of the Dusseldorf school of Germany, one of the most popular schools for American artists around the middle of the nineteenth century. At Dusseldorf the emphasis was placed on sound craftsmanship. Such artists as Emmanuel Leutz and Albert Bierstadt, among numerous other American artists, were products of the exacting demands of the school. Wyant remained only for a short time at Dusseldorf under the tutorship of Hans Friedrich Gude. Shortly thereafter he visited England where the paintings of Constable seem to have affected his style, particularly in the broad brush technique evidenced in his work at the time.

The major change in his style took place after 1874, however, when a stroke left him with a paralysis of his right arm. After he learned to paint with his left hand, his technique became looser and his scenes generally became more intimate in feeling and smaller in size. During the period when "Landscape With Pond and Cabin" was painted, intimacy plus the resurgence of Constable's loose style was being manifested in Wyant's work.

*Mr. Burnside is assistant professor of art at Brigham Young University.



The Wheel in Ancient America

PAUL R. CHEESMAN*

When Joseph Smith introduced the Book of Mormon to the world in 1829, most of its claims were viewed as fantastic and unbelievable. The cultural and historical implications of the record were too much for the scientific mind of the day. The science of archaeology had not been developed, and most of the people knew very little about the ancient ancestors of the American Indian, with only a select few showing interest in their cultural background. Most of the people seemed interested only in pushing them farther west and securing more of their land. When early explorers like Catherwood and Stephens brought back paintings and data they gathered in 1839 and 1841 from Mexico and Central America, there arose some wonder about the relationship between the magnificent cities of the past and the unlettered, simple Indian.

The Book of Mormon claim of being an abridged religious history of some of the ancestors of the American Indian met early with much "scientific" criticism. That may have been just the growing pains of the science of archaeology, since presently archaeological findings generally confirm the record. Though most of its cultural implications have since proven accurate, there are still a few areas where further research is needed—the elephant, horse, iron, wheat, and the wheel are five areas in which scientists still have not produced sufficient evidence for unanimous confirmation of Book of Mormon statements that they all existed. It is with one of these controversial areas that this paper is concerned—the wheel.

The Book of Mormon uses the word "wheel" only once in II Nephi 15:28, which is a quotation from Isaiah. The implied

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use of wheels in the Book of Mormon comes from the seven references to chariots. The first reference is found in II Nephi 12:17, also a quotation from Isaiah. If the Isaiah quote is used, since there is no such reference in the Jaredite account, the first mention of wheels in the Book of Mormon would be dated c. 559 B.C. The second reference to wheels or the word "chariot" is found in Alma 18:9, which dates c. 90 B.C.

The wheel is a basic mechanical device regarded by most scholars as one indication of a higher civilization. The earliest known use of the wheel is depicted on a limestone relief in Mesopotamia, and indicates the use of a cart dating c. 3500 B.C.¹ This reference dates the presence of the wheel in the Old World considerably earlier than any for the New World, because, for many years, scientific investigation has failed to produce information supporting the use of the wheel in Ancient America. Lately, however, there have been some artifacts found which are of serious interest to the student in this field. Since the Book of Mormon implies the use of a wheel by pre-Columbian peoples on this continent, this investigation becomes even more fascinating to the interested Mormon student.

EARLY USES OF THE WHEEL

Probably the first adaptation of the wheel for machine use was the water wheel, and the first nontransport utilization of the wheel is thought to have come during the Bronze Age, with the invention of the potter's wheel. Pottery began to be wheel-fashioned about 3000 B.C. in ancient Egypt.²

Most archaeologists contend that the potter's wheel was not known in Ancient America, because evidence indicates that the pottery was handmade without the aid of any mechanical device. There is, however, every indication that pottery was made both by hand and by wheel in the Old World. Exhibits from the Old World support the claim that the potter's wheel was utilized for rapid mass production of pots. Evidently many pots were manufactured commercially. Most of domestic pottery, however, was made by hand by the housewife and was as important a task as the construction of family clothing.

¹Charles Singer, E. J. Holmyard, A. P. Hall (eds.), *A History of Technology* (Oxford, 1954), Vol. 1, p. 205.

²Cyril Alred, "The Rise of the God-Kings" from *The Dawn of Civilization*, ed. Stuart Piggott (New York), pp. 128, 198.

W. N. Holmes reports an interpretation of an ancient American custom from which one may infer the use of the wheel principle in America.

In modeling a clay vessel, a bracket may be used as a support and pivot thus becoming an incipient form of the wheel. It may be used equally well in the shaping of the bodies of vessels, thus assuming in a limited way the functions of a mold.³

This report also affirms that a device similar to a roulette wheel was in use during the pre-Columbian period, such items being found near the mouth of the Missouri River.

Henry C. Mercer, while conducting the Corwith Expedition for the University of Pennsylvania in 1895, observed a true though simple potter's wheel in operation among the native potters of Merida, Mexico. Although this could have been a tool resulting from the Spanish influences, its peculiar mechanism and mode of operation distinguish it from any similar clay-molding wheel thus far known, in ancient or modern times, from any part of the Old World. The natives even call the device by a Mayan name, Kabal. Mercer is convinced from his studies, which have been confirmed by others, that this device is indigenous to ancient Yucatan.⁴

Reporting on contemporary pottery technique in Yucatan, G. W. Brainard states

The saucer-like type Kabal is found at Mama, Yucatan and it consists of two parts: first, a pottery saucer similar to a mold used in Dasacare pottery-making centers reported by Foster. And second, a round piece of wood. This piece of wood or Petcha, goes on top of the Kabal (like a plaster bat of today) to make the flat working surface upon which the vessel is turned.⁵

Lu Fawson, of Salt Lake City, concludes after nine years of research, that the Kabal of the Mayan civilization was a potter's wheel and that the Kabal was used prior to the arrival of the

³W. N. Holmes, *20th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, D.C., 1898), p. 69.

⁴Henry C. Mercer, "The Kabal-or Potter's Wheel of Yucatan," *The Bulletin of Free Museum of Science and Art* (Pennsylvania, 1897), Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 63-139.

⁵Brainard, G. W. (unpublished notes from Department of Archaeology, Carnegie Institute, Washington, D.C., 1940), pp. 10-42.

Spaniards.⁶ Samuel K. Lothrop writes that he has seen what appears to be a potter's table in Peru. This was found in the possession of Dr. Tello, curator of the National Archaeological Museum of Lima, Peru.⁷

Researchers report that miniature animal-like clay articles indicating the use of the wheel have been unearthed in Mesopotamia, and their counterparts have been found in Mexico. Because these artifacts are small, they are called toys. In the Mesopotamian area the smaller article bears a resemblance to a larger, more practical model. That is, miniature carts and chariots as well as the life-size vehicles have been found. In the New World, many miniature models of wheeled vehicles have been found, but no counterparts in the larger, more practical design have been discovered as yet. The absence of these larger artifacts has caused some archaeologists to think that the practical use of the wheel was not known. Their assumption demands a stone or metallic wheel. However, there may have been large, wooden wheels in use. If there were large, wooden-wheeled vehicles, they probably would have decomposed by now.

WHEELED TOYS

The French explorer, Desire Charnay, explored an Indian cemetery in Popocatepetl, Mexico, in 1880 and found a toy animal so constructed that the four discs found with the dog or coyote fit perfectly as wheels. (Photograph No. 1)

In 1940, Matthew Stirling (an archaeologist who has concentrated his studies on the wheel) discovered eight wheels in Tres Zapotes, Vera Cruz. The wheels seemed to be clay discs which were used to make the pottery toys mobile. Along side the wheels were found a pottery dog and a pottery jaguar, each with two tubes attached to their feet. The wheels were held together two-by-two by wooden axles that passed through adobe tubes, which were attached to the animals' front and rear legs. On a second expedition, Stirling found twelve more discs which he took to be three sets of wheels for toy figurines.

He summarizes his findings: "It doesn't appear likely that

⁶Lu Fawson, *A Study of Documents that Substantiate the Existence of a Potter's Wheel in Ancient America* (Salt Lake City, unpublished paper, 1966).

⁷Alfonso Caso, *Sobretiro de Cuadernos Americanos* (Mexico: Imprenta Mundial, 1946), p. 25.

having known the principle of the wheel for five centuries it never occurred to them to use it in a more general way."⁸

Once in the National Museum of Mexico there were some small metal dogs displayed which contained circular perforations in their fore feet. Dr. Alfonso Caso classifies them as Panamanian.

Lately in Mexico and even in the southern United States, numerous adobe wheels with center perforations have been found. There is a possibility that they could be discs for sewing on clothing or could have been used in hairdos or for spindle whorls or wheels.

J. Eric S. Thompson, a renowned researcher, states, ". . . the concept of the wheel for the representation of the calendrical material is, without doubt, pre-Columbian."⁹

Dr. Gordon F. Ekholm, a director of the American Museum of Natural History in New York, reports

During the winter of 1942, while I was making some excavations in Panuco and in the vicinity of Tampico, I found a certain number of small discs that I suspected of having been the wheels of rolling toys like those found by Dr. Stirling in Tres Zapotes and in Charnay in Popocatepetl. In the excavations of Panuco I felt most happy when my helper informed me of the finding of a complete toy with wheels just after having left the place myself and only a few meters from my excavation. This finding, together with the other known examples, convinced me that the Mexican Indians, before the conquest, had made small vehicles with wheels in the form of animals and therefore had some knowledge of the principle of the wheel.¹⁰

In 1960 Hasso Von Winning reported the discovery in Central America of eighteen figurines presumably mounted on wheels. In addition to these, the author has noted two more figurines now in the Museum of the American Indian in New York, five wheeled toys in the Stendahl collection at Los Angeles, three in the Los Angeles County Museum, and two in his own collection. It is estimated that there are at least thirty or more examples of pre-Columbian wheeled toys that have been unearthed in Central America.

Dr. M. W. Jakeman of Brigham Young University has stated

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁰*Ibid.*

There can now be little question but that the principle of the wheel was known and utilized in ancient America, at least in the case of toys. And it seems likely that these apparent playthings are fashioned in imitation of larger vehicles used in a workday life of the children's elders.¹¹

The wheeled toy is definitely found in the Old World in the Mesopotamian area. They are approximately the same size as the ones in the New World, possessing hollow bodies and crudely-made wheels which might be mistaken for spindle whorls.

It appears that the American specimens found thus far have not been dated earlier than 200 A.D., which is significantly pre-Columbian, although most of the European wheeled toys have considerably earlier dating. This time gap was shortened considerably with the report of a wheeled toy located in Old Corith, Greece, and dated in the first century A.D.¹²

The suggestion that there were manufactured toys which used a basic mechanical principle not in practical use in a larger model is not probable. In fact, this idea is extremely uncommon in the so-called primitive cultures in the world. If we consider the nearly universal use of dolls which are miniatures of people or animals and small so-called items common to everyday life (such as pottery vessels, grinding stones, or weapons), it is noteworthy that we have not found any toys in a culture which were not at least partially replicas of the larger, practical model.

HIGHWAYS

The remarkable highways uncovered in Peru and northern Yucatan—one which extends for a distance of 100 kilometers between the ruins of Coba and Uaxuna—suggest the use of the wheel or rollers. Some of these roads, up to thirty feet or more in width, were elevated and had smooth masonry surfaces.¹³ There are some archaeologists who argue that the pre-Columbian Indians did not use the wheel, but that they did use rollers

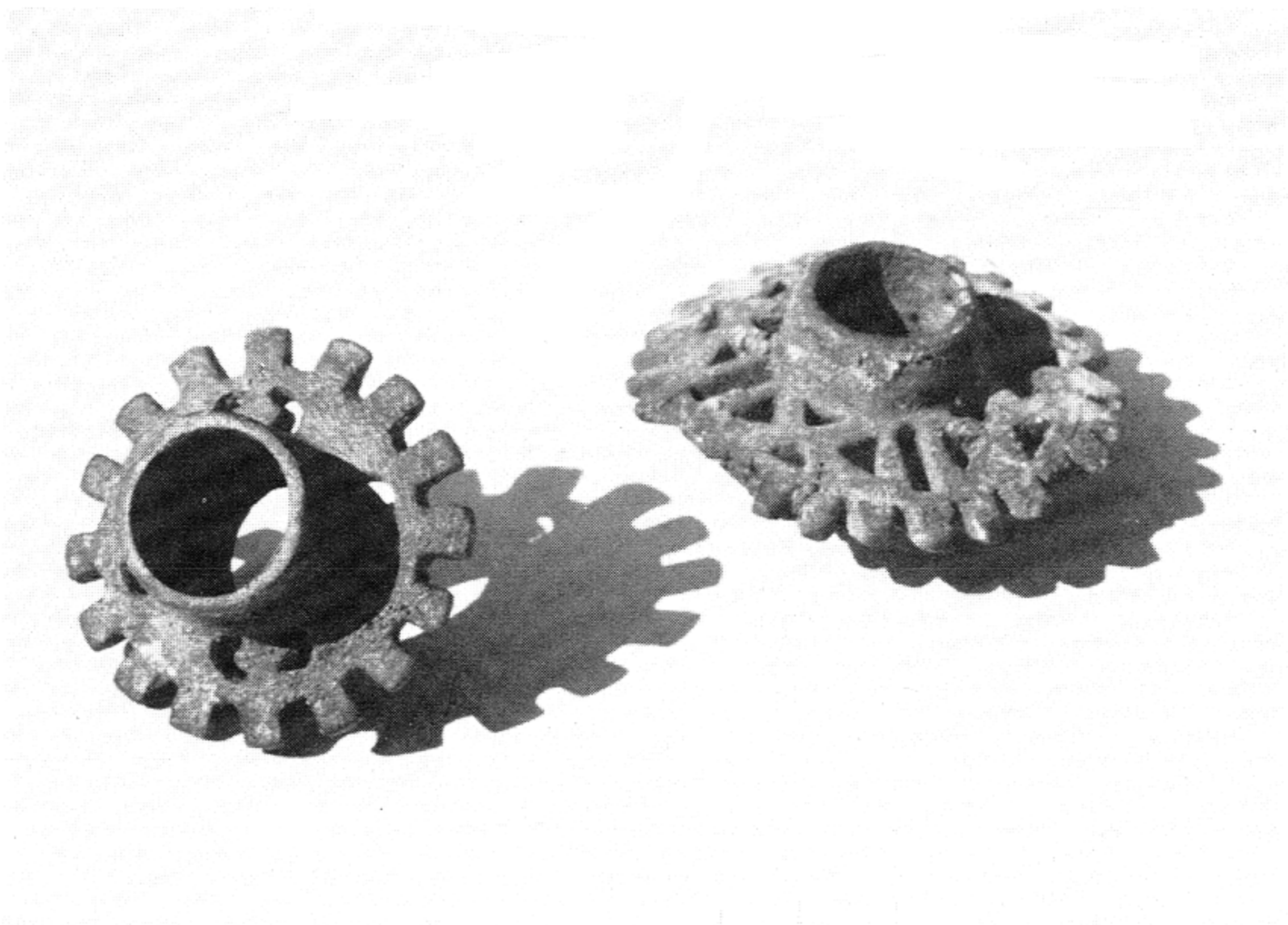
¹¹M. Wells Jakeman, *Discovering the Past* (Provo, Utah, 1954), p. 335.

¹²Morris Bishop, "Terracotta Horse, First Century, A.D.," *Archaeology*, Vol. 6 (Autumn 1953), p. 153.

¹³J. E. S. Thompson, H. E. O. Pollock and J. Chariot, *A Preliminary Study of the Ruins of Coba, Quintana Roo, Mexico* (Washington, D.C., 1932), publication #424.



Photograph No. 1



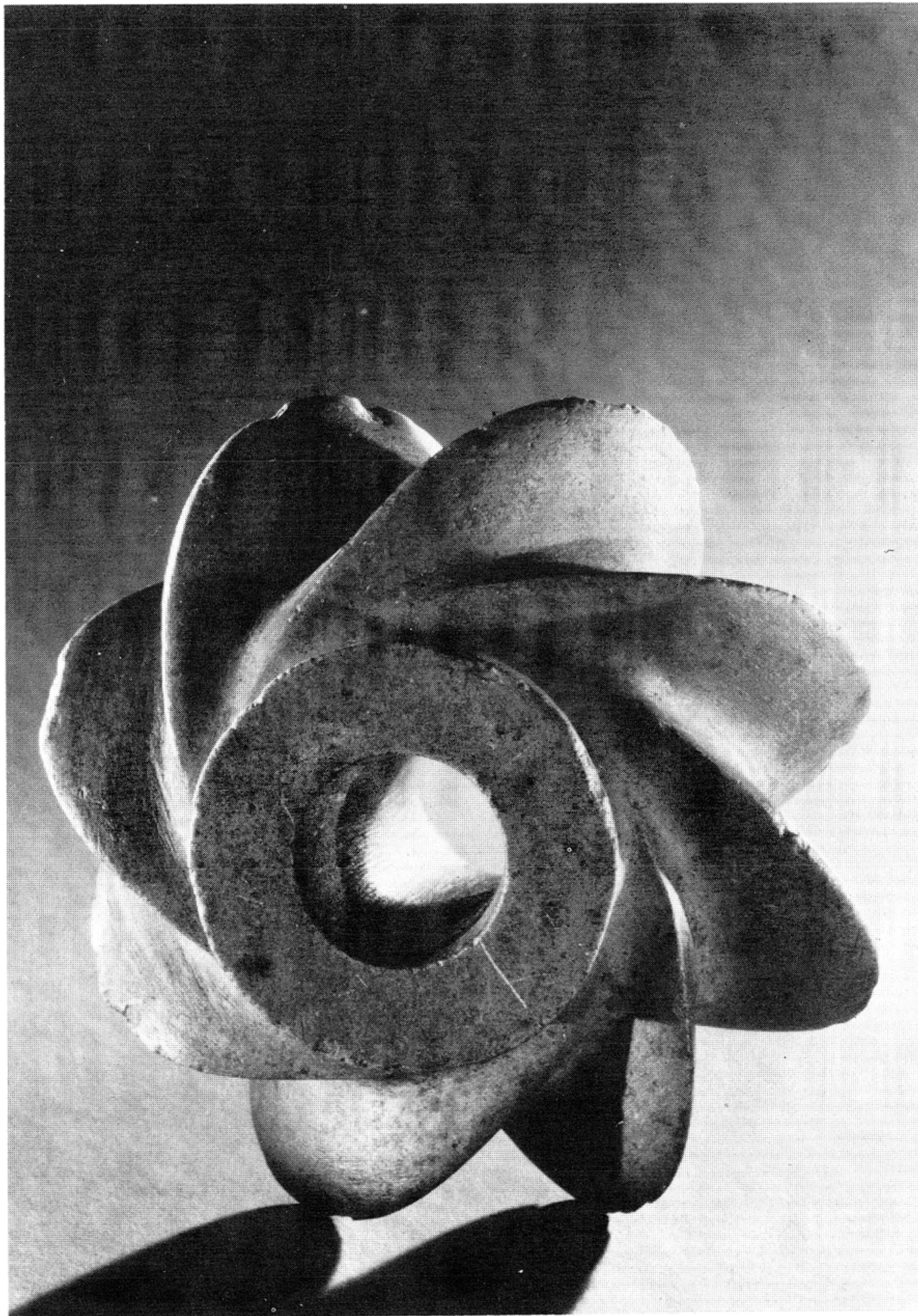
Photograph No. 2



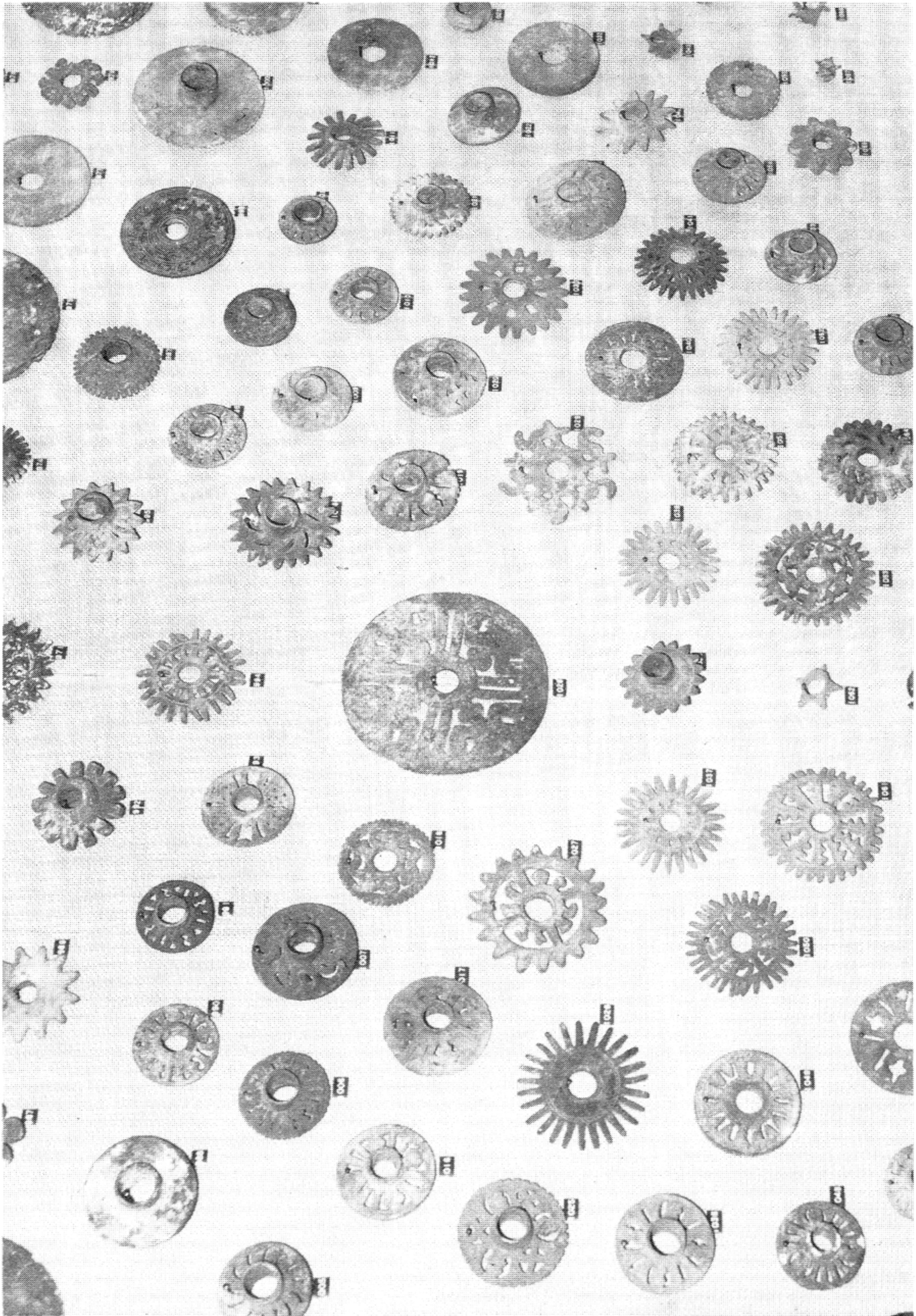
Photograph No. 3



Photograph No. 4



Photograph No. 5



Photograph No. 6



Photograph No. 7

on their roads to carry loads.¹⁴ That they constructed such huge highways for roller transportation and did not see the wheel principle in those rollers seems inconceivable.

OTHER WHEEL-LIKE OBJECTS

Circular smooth discs are found throughout Mexico and the southern United States which could be spindle whorls or small wheels. If they are whorls, and some of them are attached to spindles, they could be construed to represent the wheel and axle principle.

William Salazar of Lima, Peru, discovered some metal discs. Much conjecture has been advanced on such devices, generally calling them mace heads. The mace was common in Ancient America. But true maces were constructed of heavy metal or stone pieces so they would form formidable weapons of war. What is most interesting concerning the pieces shown in Photograph #2 is that they were *NOT* made heavy, but purposely made light. Near the periphery openings were cut into the metal which lighten it. As a matter of fact, they seem to be early examples of our present gear principle with an axle hole and precision-made gear-like teeth.

While touring through the magnificent National Museum of Anthropology in Mexico City, I especially looked for wheel-like pre-Columbian sculptured pieces and was pleased to find several. Photograph #3 is one of these on display in the museum. (What about it?)

Other types of revolving objects with widespread use among the American cultures might have contributed to the discovery of the wheel principle. These include the pump drill, the top, the buzz disc, and possibly even the roller. Portions of the carvings on the pre-Columbian "Newspaper rock" found in Indian Creek Canyon near Monticello, Utah, bear a marked resemblance to "wheels." (Photograph #4) A mace head belonging to the Chavin culture of Ancient Peru is shown in Photograph #5. This 9th Century B.C. club head utilizes the principle of the screw (a modification of the wheel principle) several centuries before Archimedes. (Courtesy of American Museum of Natural History.)

¹⁴Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., ed., *The American Heritage, Book of the Indians* (New York, 1961), p. 20.

Photograph #6 shows a sizeable collection of circular objects which has been found in Peru. It is thought by some that these were used as weapons or for ceremonial purposes. The use of some of these as simple gears is certainly a possibility.

Photograph #7 is a large circular stone with a hole in the center. It is thought that this could have been used for the ball game that was so common throughout Central America. Since the center hole is not as large as most of the game "baskets," other uses are possible.

CONCLUSION

In Copan, Honduras, the writer observed a sculptured stone slab with a figure resembling a wheel. The doughnut-shaped hoop used in the ball game of the Ancient Americans indicates the idea of a circular unit. The large reservoirs of the Cusco area of Peru are arranged in circular compartments. Even the large, Aztec calendar stone suggests the idea of a wheel.

With the number of wheeled objects that have been found and the additional wheel-like units that are evident, it seems evident that archaeological opinion will soon have to recognize the wheel as an instrument of use in ancient America. Since the Book of Mormon has specifically mentioned chariots which imply the use of the wheel, we shall eagerly await for future research to uncover more evidence of the practical uses the Ancient Americans made of this principle of the wheel.

The Rabbit Hunt

DOUGLAS H. THAYER*

When Allen got back to his bedroom after brushing his teeth, he opened his gun cabinet and took out five boxes of shells and his Browning .22 automatic rifle. It was Saturday. In twenty minutes he was supposed to be at the chapel to pick up the boys from his Sunday-school class for a rabbit hunt. He taught the class only for the summer while he was home from college, where he was in his second year of pre-dent. The hunt was a reward for the boys' being quiet during July (the girls were always quiet). And he knew that if he were ten minutes late they would be potting the pigeons off the chapel roof. But they were pretty good kids, and they should all have a swell time, although it would be hot.

The snake-bite kit! It was too hot for rattlesnakes in the open sagebrush during the day, but there was always some chance, at least around rocks. His father had warned him again at breakfast about the deep gullies, particularly in Dog Valley. Because the sage always grew right to the edge of the sheer clay sides, an excited kid chasing a wounded rabbit could take a twenty-foot dive into one. Wouldn't that be jolly. Each of the kids had gone through the required state gun-safety course. All he and Larry needed to do was to keep them in some kind of line and out of the high sage. The mothers had all given their permission.

Allen unbuttoned his faded Levis and pulled his white T-shirt tight across his stomach, then buttoned up again and combed his hair. Because Cathy liked his hair sun-bleached, he wasn't wearing a hat. He winked at her picture. They had a date at seven. His summer construction job paid well, kept

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him in great shape—and he had Cathy, which made for a big summer so far. He picked up the Browning and shells, then stood to bow his head and say a short prayer. Buzzing, a big yellow hornet bumped at the window screen.

Going down the hall he banged on Danny's door. "Hey, Mom said to get up!" Danny groaned. "Come on, kid, it's Saturday morning, hit the deck." Danny hunted everything with him and his father, ducks, geese, pheasants, rabbits, deer, but had a special piano lesson for his recital, so couldn't make it this time. Coming down the stairs and into the kitchen, Allen heard his mother on the back porch talking to Mrs. Miller. His father had left for the office. He got his canteen, moved some of the breakfast dishes aside to fill it at the sink and then took his lunch out of the refrigerator.

"Good morning, Mrs. Miller," he said when he got on the porch.

She greeted him and she and his mother went on talking. He smashed two flies trapped against the inside of his windshield and then had to clean the glass with a Kleenex. One thing he didn't like about hunting in August was the flies. The boys would have to keep moving.

When he started his engine, his mother came down the steps. "Have a good time, son, and see that those boys behave themselves."

"I will, Mom." She squeezed his arm, then waved as he backed out. Behind her over the garage door hung the antlers from a dozen deer hunts, some of them bleached white. He and his father always nailed up the biggest antlers each fall.

He waved back at his mother, shifted to drive and moved down the quiet street. Danny would have the yard work to do alone. Mrs. Wayne stopped her raking to wave. She hadn't always been quite *that* friendly. When he was a boy she used to chase him off for sniping birds out of her big trees with his BB gun. But he never shot songbirds, none of the kids did, just starlings and sparrows.

The boys saw him when he crossed Third South. Dressed in cut-offs, carrying sack lunches and guns, they came charging off the church lawn, whooping, excited, their white T-shirts and naked legs flashing in the new sunlight. He made them put all of the guns in the trunk on the old blanket.

They groaned. They wanted to hold their guns—they would be careful. “Not on your life,” he said. He made sure each action was open before he laid the guns on the old blanket.

Larry drove up. They gathered in a circle for prayer then left, driving south on 91 toward Levan. They would hunt near Levan first then drive farther west to Dog Valley at the base of Battle Mountain, where the best hunting was. The boys wanted to look for arrowheads and bones at the mountain, until he told them that there had been no massacre.

Larry right on his tail, they made Nephi in less than an hour, even though they had to stop once to get a hornet out of the car. The valley grew wider and more barren. Except for the black pinion pines on the low, rounded mountains and squares of dry-land wheat on the flats, sagebrush covered everything. Patches of fur showed where cars had pounded jackrabbits into the asphalt, and every mile or two a hawk sat perched on top of a power pole.

Speaking over the rush of warm air, the boys told hunting stories. Allen told them about the time he and three friends had killed two hundred jackrabbits on a single overnight hunt. They used a spotlight to blind the rabbits along the old roads, and he still had the sugar sack full of tails somewhere. The boys already had a tail contest set up. Later, when those in the back seat started to tell dirty jokes, their voices muffled, he had to tell them to knock it off. “This is still a Sunday School class,” he said. Embarrassed, they quieted down. They were good kids, a little rowdy at times, but still basically good kids. They liked him because he had played high school ball.

“Hey look,” Bruce hollered, “pheasants!”

Allen caught just a glimpse of the small flock in the corner of a cut wheat field. Two roosters. The boys wanted to know when the season opened. Judas, how he liked to walk through the corn, kick up the big roosters, and then blast them down in long trails of bright feathers. Last year for the first time in his life he had made a triple, jumped three roosters simultaneously out of one weed clump and killed all three. His father walked clear across the field to slap him on the back and shake his hand.

At Levan (UNINCORPORATED, POPULATION 247), Allen turned off onto the dirt road and drove across the sage flats toward the mountains and the power line. With Larry

half a mile behind him in the dust, Allen pulled off at the usual place. While he waited for Larry, the kids mined two of the big ant hills with cherry bombs, exploding them in sudden bursts of dust. But already they brushed at the flies. "Okay, *brethren*, gather over here," he said finally. They groaned. "Now stay in line, keep out of the high sage, and don't fall into a gully." They laughed. "And don't shoot song-birds."

"Ah, Allen, why not?" somebody asked in a phoney voice.

They shoved and pushed when he turned to open his trunk. "Just take it easy." As each boy received his gun, Larry spaced him in the line. Allen picked up the Browning and closed the lid. They would follow the power poles to the ledges, where they would trap the rabbits and get the best shooting until Dog Valley. He walked into the space that Larry had left him in the middle. "Okay, load your guns!"

Brushing a fly away from his mouth, Allen dropped the inch-long shells into the tube magazine, then poured the rest of the box into his pocket. T-shirts off, brown backs already gleaming with sweat under the sun, the boys waited, brushed flies. With his light complexion he couldn't take nearly the sun they could. Larry was ready on the north end. Allen raised his arm, a ripple of shouts, and they started. Directly above his head the power cables crackled and buzzed. The poles would help to keep the line straight. No bad gullies cut between them and the ledges.

Allen walked alert, finger on the safety. He liked the tight sensation, the feel of the Browning. Next to him Ken dropped a sparrow in a puff of feathers. "Come on, Daniel Boone," he said, "we're not after sparrows." Then the shooting started at the south end, but nobody yelled, so he knew that the rabbit got away. Five minutes later Merrill got the first jack, whooped, held it up for everybody to see then dropped it to rip off the tail.

The cracking of the .22's increased as they crowded more rabbits in front of them. But the boys had killed a dozen between them before Allen got his first good shot. The jack crossed close in front of him, ears laid back, really moving. He held the trigger down, read the spurts of dust, both eyes open, the thrill shrinking his guts. A little more lead, then "W-h-a-p," and the jack somersaulted into the dust, squealed.

Holding it with his foot, he put the barrel next to its head and pulled the trigger.

"Okay, let's take five!" he yelled. He didn't want anybody dropping from heat exhaustion.

Squatting, they drank from their canteens, loaded their guns, shouted to each other about how many they had killed. The white T-shirts stuffed into their back pockets looked like tails. Allen reloaded. Twice as big as a cat, the jack was a soft grey color except for the white tail and underbelly. Already flies buzzed around it, and a big ant crawled in one of the long ears. He reached down and jerked off the tail.

The shooting got better. Pairs of robins and small flocks of bluebirds and larks flew ahead of them. Twice they jumped hawks, and once an owl, but always out of range. A quarter of a mile from the shimmering ledges he called the boys in. "Okay," he said, "we always get a lot of rabbits here, but don't climb up into the ledges." Vaulting the sage clumps and yelling like Comanches, they went back into the line.

Trapped, the rabbits ran back through the line or around the ledges and up the hill. The automatics cracked, the other guns slower, bullets ricocheting, zinging. Five or six rabbits flashed through the sage ahead of Allen, others trying to sneak by. Mouth dry, heart pounding, he shot, loaded and kept shooting, the Browning slick with sweat. Broken-backed, one jack pawed the ground dog-fashion, and he finished it. The line got ragged, the boys shouting now, some cursing. He and Larry yelled them back.

Then Allen got two, one sitting, front legs out like hands. "W-h-a-p!" and it caved in, the head half gone. The second he toppled back over a rock shelf. As they neared the ledges the shooting crescendoed, then suddenly slacked off, the rabbits gone. The boys ran back and forth to head-shoot wounded rabbits, argue over kills, rip tails, count the score. Then they stood there all together, wiping the sweat from their eyes with their shirts, drinking, sorry it was over, laughing.

"Okay, pretty good," Allen said, "we'll rest under that big pinion over there." They could find rabbits higher up, but the pinions and ledges made the hunting too tricky, and there could be snakes.

Sitting in the warm shade, they piled the tails in the little mounds before them, kidded Allen and Larry about not being

top guns. With the last of their water they washed down the Hershey bars. Allen dampened his handkerchief and wiped the grey dust from his face, neck and arms, then ate an apple to clean his teeth. The black flies they brushed away lit on the little piles of blood-specked tails. Below them the aluminum-roofed barns glimmered and on the highway windshields flashed the sun.

The big excitement gone now, resting, they talked hunting or smoothed the dirt to play ticktacktoe. They wanted to know more about the big rabbit hunt when he and his friends had killed over two hundred. He gave them all the details. He told them that when he came home for Christmas vacation he would take those, whose mothers would let them, on a two-day hunt out in the west desert. They would hunt ducks at Fish Springs during the day and rabbits at night along the road with a spotlight. They might even get a coyote or a fox. But he told them that they would have to prove themselves today.

"Hey, look!"

Allen turned. Below, one of the brown hawks had lit on a power pole. Allen watched, then slowly reached for the Browning. "Okay, you jokers, move aside," he said, "and we'll see who's the Daniel Boone around here." He winked at Larry. "We buy the root beers if I miss; you buy us malts if I drop the hawk." Larry laughed.

"Okay," somebody said, "you're on."

Even from the prone it was a long shot with a .22, although with his deer rifle he had killed hawks at four times the range. But, at the crack of the Browning, the hawk fell lazily from the pole. Yelling, T-shirts bobbing, the boys charged down the hill after it. Lon and Bruce, who brought the hawk back, wings spread between them, claimed the talons if Allen didn't want them. Allen held the warm, soft hawk. "Neat," Randy said. With his pocketknife Lon cut off the talons, which he and Bruce hung around their necks with string. The other boys groaned. Danny or Cathy's little brother Bobby would like the talons. The hawk's black eyes still glistened.

Before they left, Allen jacked them up about the swearing he had heard. "Now there's absolutely no need for that," he told them. "What about that lesson we had two weeks ago?"

They promised. He had to keep after them. The line of power poles led back to the two cars glimmering in the expanse of grey-green sage, but they would cut north. The sun was hotter.

At first they got shooting, but then it thinned out, as it could sometimes. Bored, the boys shot the pencil-long grey lizards, mined ant hills or shot at the large yellow-winged grasshoppers that flew up to light in front of them. Verlin killed a squirrel. They formed firing squads to kill the sparrows, tried to find three or four in the top of the same dead sage. Twice Allen had to stop the boys next to him from shooting the robins, larks, and bluebirds. They laughed, yelled, "Hey, Allen, can I shoot this beat-up old robin?" Just after he brought them in to cross the one deep gully at a spot he had found, he had to shout at them not to shoot toward the cars. All he or Larry needed was a hole through a windshield.

The boys jumped when their naked backs touched the hot plastic seat covers and sat forward, groaned when Larry drove out first. Five miles west of Levan they pulled off at the grove to eat. An artesian well flowed in the center of the cottonwoods, and out behind was a small sink-fed slough. Allen made them all wash, and they blessed the food. After he ate he got his kit from the jockey box and brushed his teeth and combed his hair. The boys grew quiet. Some of them flipped pebbles at the hornets settled near the edge of the water around the well. Hornets liked anything wet. Clean a deer, rabbit or even a pheasant, and the smell brought hornets. He told the boys how good the hunting would be in Dog Valley. The last part of the drive was always fantastic, so they should save plenty of shells.

Feeling clean, Allen dozed and came awake to a duck squawking. Twisting and turning, a drake mallard flew from the slough out through the cottonwoods. He watched it disappear. A flock of mallards coming into the decoys was even better than rooster pheasants exploding out of the corn. Heart thudding, he liked to crouch in the blind, wait, then stand suddenly to kill just the green-headed drakes out of the flock. A fly lit near his mouth, tickled.

By two o'clock they were on the road driving west toward Dog Valley. The land was barren, empty, not even fences, only the power line. Then they topped the last rise, and Dog Val-

ley curved off to the northwest in front of them; Battle Mountain, the highest peak in the Tintic Range, was on the far side. The sage clung to the bottom, some of it head-high right at the edge of the deep center gully. He told the boys that the best drive was on the east side coming back. There a deep wash cut into the main gully at right angles to form a trap. Ahead the power line left the road to cut down across the middle of the valley.

The boys asked about deer in the Tintic, and he told them that the biggest rack of antlers nailed on their garage came off Battle Mountain. It was the year before he could legally carry a rifle. His father had made a fantastic three-hundred-yard shot that dumped the big four-point buck in a crashing tangle down the side of the ravine. Blood up to his elbows, he had cleaned the buck for his father. When he got his dental practice going, they would hunt elk in Wyoming and grizzlies in Alaska. Allen braked to turn off the asphalt, and the heat came in through the open windows at them.

Standing next to the car, Allen pulled off his T-shirt and stuffed it into his back pocket. The boys whistled. "Hey look, it's Mr. America," somebody said. They laughed. He got the suntan lotion from his kit. When he unlocked the trunk the first thing he saw was the blunt-legged hawk stuffed in between the spare and the jack. David wanted to show it to his mother. "Okay, okay, don't shove, brethren," he said. He had told Larry to leave him the spot next to the gully. It was over twenty feet deep in places, a seep in the bottom, and with all of the good shooting coming up somebody might get careless. He closed the lid, and then reached down to pinch an ant that crawled through the hair just above his sock.

They got better shooting than at Levan, but it wasn't so fast that the boys didn't take time to pot sparrows and lizards. Just after they crossed under the power line Randy shot a big blow snake. He screamed rattler, jumped back and started shooting, and everybody went charging over to where he was. Allen ran. He had warned them twice about snakes. The blow snake lay tangling itself, white-bellied against the yellow and black, shot through the body half a dozen times from four guns and not dead yet. "Better be careful your *rattlesnake*

doesn't bite you, Randy," he said. They all laughed, but they were disappointed it wasn't a rattler.

Twice Allen ducked into the high sage to find a spot to cross the center gully. They crossed at three-thirty. While the kids formed the new line, he stood at the gully's edge and watched the hornets around the stagnant puddles in the bottom. Tired, the boys began to drag a little, but then Merrill gut-shot a pregnant rabbit and that brought them back to life. Some of the boys shot at the hawks that circled, riding the hot afternoon thermals. Hunting the trap where the wash hit the gully would be an excellent way to end the hunt, which the boys would appreciate. His father always said that it was the best spot in the state.

When they had hunted back to where the power poles crossed the valley, Allen signaled a halt. "Okay, take five!" He wanted them to rest before the last drive. Those who had water shared it, which he liked to see, and then they sat brushing at the flies, their front pockets bulging with tails. By the time they counted the tails, stopped in Nephi for drinks (they would get their root beers anyway), and had the prayer at the church, it would be after six before he got home. Thirty feet in front of him three robins lit in the top of a dead sage.

Allen stood up. A mile farther on the two cars glimmered at the edge of the road. It had been a good day, but it would be nice to get home, shower, dress in cool clean clothes, and go over to Cathy's. Maybe they would watch TV—wait for Bobby to get lost. Sunday was always a good day too, quiet, with church, dinner, and then in the evening homemade ice cream out on the patio with Cathy and the family. After that maybe just a walk down the sidewalk under the trees.

Behind him they talked about the pregnant rabbit, some of the older boys whispering, snickering. Suddenly there was a ragged "C-r-a-c-k!" One robin flew from the top of the dead sage, two dropped in puffs of brown-white feathers. "Ah, one got away. You guys are a bum firing squad." Allen turned. Lon, Bruce, and Phil stood holding their raised .22's, David beside them. It had been David's voice.

"Now what did you do that for?"

"Ah, Allen, they're just birds."

Lon and Bruce still wore the hawk talons, the string dirty now. All four smiled. He looked at them, then slowly shook

his head, started to grin. What was the use. "Okay, okay, okay," he said, "just forget *all* about what I told you. But I'll be very glad to get you home to the care and keeping of your mothers." They laughed.

Across the valley a big stake-bed cattle truck kicked up a plume of dust at the base of Battle Mountain. Reaching down, Allen took the Browning from against the sage where he had leaned it. "All right," he said, "let's get back into line. This is the big one." Rested, eager again, they trotted back to their positions, T-shirts bobbing. "Take it easy!" he hollered. Above him the power cables sizzled and popped, the tall poles extending across and down the valley to infinity. He waved to Larry.

The shooting began slowly, grew, became a steady crackle, the boys started then to yell. They went on. Rabbits flashed through the sage everywhere, ten or twelve breaking into the open at one time, running back from the walls of the wash, trying for the hill. Rabbits dropped or went somersaulting. Wounded, spurts of dust jumping around it, one rabbit ran in a tight circle. Rabbits squealed. Excited, yelling, cursing, leaping over the sage, the crackle of their guns growing, the boys broke from line, whirling to shoot to the side or back, anywhere. Caught in a spur of sage, Allen saw it. Larry was waving, shouting something.

Running now because he had to stop the boys, scared, Allen got just to the edge of the high stuff when he heard the clip, clip, clip of the slugs from an automatic cutting the sage in front of him. He felt something hit him twice, like slaps. His legs went weak, he stumbled, dropped the Browning, and fell forward, hitting on his right shoulder in a small clearing. Dazed, he lay on his side facing the sun. He looked down at the two little black holes in his naked stomach and chest. They didn't bleed. Cheek against the dirt, he saw the dusty Browning, the pebbles and twigs.

Then very gradually the pain began, became finally hot coals, spilt acid, knives pushed into him, and beyond all he had ever believed pain was or could be. Amazed, he curled, wrapped his arms around, squeezed, trying to stop the pain. Then he saw only a white glare. He couldn't tell if he had limbs, arms and legs, the pain blotting out all feeling except pain. There was a center to the pain, an intensity, which

seemed beyond feeling, only void. And he wanted to stop the pain, squeeze harder, and curse, scream, but he couldn't make any sound.

Slowly the pain faded, almost like noise, and he felt his body relax, his arms. Then a hornet swung back and forth over his feet, above his hands, over his face. It lit on his cheek under his eye. But he couldn't raise his hand to brush it away. He couldn't feel it. Someone stood over him blocking out the sun, knelt down. He couldn't open his mouth to speak, tell them what to do, get to a telephone and call his folks. He couldn't hear anything. A blurred face vanished in the weak yellow glow. He began to choke and gasp against the blood filling his throat and mouth. And then he couldn't see.

The Land of Song and Saga*

LOFTUR BJARNASON**

Perhaps you will allow me to introduce my subject with a quotation from *Hávamál: The Sayings of the High One*, that quintessence of wisdom as expressed by our Viking forefathers over 1,000 years ago.

Deyr fé. Deyja frændr.
Deyr sjálfr et sama,
En orðstýrr deyr aldrei
Hveim sér goðan getr

Deyr fé. Deyja frændr.
Deyr sjálfr et sama
Einn veit ek sem aldregi deyr
Dómr um dauðan hvern

Rather freely translated into English and with no effort made to reproduce the poetic quality of the original, these verses mean:

Cattle die. Kinsmen pass away.
We all die in our time
But the memory of a man lives on
Provided that memory is good

Cattle die. Kinsmen pass away
We all die in the course of time
One thing only lives forever
The judgment passed on a man at his death.

If one will reflect for a moment on the deeper meaning of these few lines—and these are only eight out of several hundred of *Hávamál*—I think he will reject the Hollywood

*A Brigham Young University forum address given on July 25, 1968.

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image of the Viking, our Scandinavian ancestor as a rather brawny but brainless savage, dressed in wolf or bearskins, wandering aimlessly and stupidly around looking for someone to run his spear into. I suggest, indeed, that these few lines—and I emphasize again that they represent only an infinitesimal portion of the complete poem—have an ethical, almost a religious message for us today, one that we in the second half of the twentieth century can take to heart and use to bring greater significance and purpose to our lives. I propose to return to this message a little later, but first let me explain how it came about that this and other great poems of our pagan ancestors happened to be preserved and handed down to posterity.

As you know, Charlemagne, the king of the Franks, was crowned emperor of the Holy Roman Empire in Rome on Christmas day in the year 800. He thus became ruler of an area embracing not only modern France but also portions of Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, and Germany—a greater area than anyone in Western Europe had ruled since the downfall of the Roman Empire. His name was well known and respected as far away as Kiev in Russia and Bagdad in the Middle East. The Russian king eagerly sought an alliance in marriage with one of the daughters of Charlemagne, and Harun al Rashid, the almost legendary potentate of the Near East, sent ambassadors and emissaries to the court of the great Frankish king. He was, indeed, a world-renowned figure.

Whether inspired by the success of Charlemagne, as some historians assert, or whether goaded to it by the taunts of a beautiful Swedish girl whose hand he sought in marriage, a young Norwegian princeling by the name of Harald, at first called "Lufa" or "Shockhead," later, "The Fairhaired," began about 868 to conquer all of Norway and make that (which up to his time had been a free independent country ruled by local chieftains) a monolithic state ruled by a despotic and autocratic central authority, namely, Harald himself. Naturally, the petty chieftains viewed with alarm this unprecedented threat to the ancient ways of the country. They began to organize resistance, but Harald moved too rapidly for them. He defeated one chieftain after another, claiming their territories as his by right of conquest and levying taxes upon the people to support his schemes of aggrandizement against the

others who still resisted. Finally, in a great sea battle fought at Hafrsfjord in southwestern Norway, Harald overcame the last organized resistance. He had conquered the last of the great barons and was now ruler of all of Norway, including Norwegian colonies in Ireland, Scotland, the Shetlands, the Faroes, and the Hibrades.

After this decisive battle Harald gave his conquered enemies three choices. First, they could swear allegiance to him, become his men, and forfeit any inherited rights and privileges including the ancient right to inherit property. Second, they could march up and have their heads cut off. Third, they could leave the country, never to return. The first choice was really no choice at all for men who had from time immemorial considered themselves free men. It would mean surrendering that which they valued more than life itself. No more could they own land in their own name or pass it on to their sons. Few of the real leaders accepted the first alternative. The second choice had somewhat more appeal, especially to the younger, unmarried men. Some wonderful stories are told about how they joked with each other while waiting their turn to be decapitated. By far the greater number of responsible former nobles and landowners, however, accepted the third alternative and left the country. So many left, in fact, that whole districts were depopulated. Harald, in order to stem the tide of emigration, was finally forced to impose a tax on anyone who desired to leave the country.

The émigrés, representing in many cases the most aggressive, the most gifted, and the most cultured men of the country, fled first to the Norwegian possessions overseas, that is, to Ireland, Scotland, England, the Isle of Man, etc. Here, mingling with, and in many cases intermarrying with, the intellectually sophisticated and culturally advanced inhabitants of the British Isles, they acquired much of the culture of their new neighbors. Especially, it is thought, they may have been exposed to the teachings of Christianity, for England had been Christian since 597, while at this time the Scandinavian north was still pagan. England had also known and produced great imaginative and creative literature such as the deservedly admired Anglo-Saxon poem *Beowulf*, "Deor's Lament," and others. No doubt, the newcomers quickly saw the advantages of putting significant ideas down on paper—or rather vellum—

and, as they left the British Isles and wandered on to their final home in Iceland, they took with them the cultural advancements that they had acquired during their sojourn in the British Isles, including perhaps the art of writing. They also took with them their English or Irish wives, relatives, and friends. This is attested by the great number of non-Scandinavian personal and place names in Iceland. From not only the personal and place names but from a study of anatomy and blood types it has been deduced that possibly as many as fifty percent of the original pioneers, the early settlers of Iceland, were of British as opposed to Scandinavian origin. Let us not underestimate this addition, for the Celts have always been an intellectually gifted race. They have excelled in the arts requiring imagination—music, poetry, and painting.

PIONEERS TO ICELAND

Like the Utah pioneers of 1847, these pioneers 1,000 years earlier first turned their attention to the necessities of life. They chose their land, established boundaries, determined fishing rights, and built houses for themselves and barns for their livestock. These things done, they began to establish law and order and to pursue cultural activities. In the year 930 they established on the plains of Thingvellir about 30 miles northeast from Reykjavík the famous Althing. Here all the great cases were heard and verdicts passed. With only negligible breaks in continuity the Althing has met every year since its establishment in 930. Now, after more than 1,000 years of continuous meeting, it is the oldest deliberative and parliamentary assembly in the western world, far antedating the famous British Parliament.

In the year 1,000, by democratic vote at the Althing, Christianity was adopted as the State Religion of the Republic of Iceland. It is noteworthy that Christianity was not forced upon the people of Iceland by some outside power or at the point of the sword; it was rather freely accepted by the people themselves, voting without restraint and with no fear of reprisal. Consequently, it was a somewhat different brand of Christianity that existed in Iceland for the next several centuries. Little or no attempt was made on the part of the Church to root out and destroy any latent traces of paganism that might have existed. As a result, the people of Iceland

were free to enjoy and to pass on to their descendents the great treasure of literature, mythology, and heroic legends which they had brought with them from the mother country and which, because of the frantic activities of the Church on the mainland to stamp out any suspected spark of heathendom, had soon become lost and forgotten everywhere but in Iceland.

Precisely when that great body of poetry which we now call the *Poetic Edda*—and of which the aforementioned *Hávamál* constitutes only a part—when these poems were first composed will probably never be determined with certainty. Some scholars say they could have their origins during the period of the migrations of nations, i.e., possibly 400-600 A.D. Other authorities insist that such a date is too early; they suggest about 700 to 1,000. In any event, all agree that they date from a time when the Germanic and Scandinavian world was still not yet completely subjected to the influence of Christianity. Whenever they were composed, we know that they had been collected by the end of the first quarter of the 12th century and were being written down and copied for the now well-to-do and culturally inclined Icelandic landowners and chieftains. This body of poetry, consisting of ethics and teachings as well as heroic legends and mythology which comprise the *Poetic Edda*, sometimes called the *Elder Edda*, is our main, and, by far, our most reliable source of knowledge of the culture, religion, and literature of the pre-Christian North. Without it we would find it difficult indeed to reconstruct the beliefs and the intellectual life of our Scandinavian ancestors. Fortunately, at least one copy of the manuscript has escaped the fires, the earthquakes, and the floods of Iceland and is now known as the *Codex Regius*—"The Royal Manuscript."

Much as the Icelanders loved good poetry and heroic legends in verse, they enjoyed even more good stories of men they knew, told in a terse and graphic prose style. Out of this love of good storytelling developed the famous Icelandic Family Sagas. These are stories of actual men and women who are identifiable as historical characters and of events that unquestionably took place but were artistically retouched by the imagination of the storyteller. Some of these sagas are so meticulously based on history that they have been accepted by the most scrupulous of historians as actual fact. An ex-

ample of this type is the famous *Egil's Saga*. Others have been proved to have no historical foundation whatsoever and to be in their entirety highly artistic creations of someone's imagination. This, however, in no manner lessens their value as literary works; quite the contrary, it probably increases their value. We can turn to other sources for our historical information. An example of this purely fictional type of saga is the saga of *Hrafnkell, The Priest of Frey*, or *Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða* as it is called in Icelandic, and it is without a doubt one of the best motivated and cleverly written short novels ever put on paper. Only two examples out of several hundred sagas have been cited. Time will not allow a detailed discussion of the literature of 13th-century Iceland. I will merely assert that both in quantity and in quality it surpasses anything produced in Northern and Western Europe between the Age of Pericles on the one hand and the Age of Elizabeth on the other. I'll put it a different way: Any serious student can read just about everything that has been preserved of English and/or Anglo-Saxon literature up to the time of Chaucer (ca. 1400) in two or three evenings of reading. No one could possibly do more than skim the surface of the best of the Icelandic literature of this age in less than a month of diligent study.

CONSTANT ICELANDIC LITERARY PRODUCTION

Nor has there been any break or hiatus in Icelandic literature from that day to this. Icelandic authors and poets have been active and creative even at times when the economic level of the country was at a pitifully low ebb. For centuries it has been the custom in the Icelandic farmhouses for everyone to gather in one room and spend the long winter afternoons and evenings listening to one of the members read from the old sagas or quote poetry. Usually, each member of the family would take his turn at reading for a half hour or so while the other members carded wool, spun, knitted socks, repaired harnesses, or wove horsehair ropes. This custom not only provided each member of the family practice in reading; it also gave every member an opportunity to become well acquainted with the history of the country and its literature. Finally, it also provided each member with an opportunity to compare Iceland's literature with that of the outside world, for the reading was by no means confined to any one sub-

ject or any one era. One of the favorite sports was a sort of spelling bee with poetry. The first person would quote a poem—as long or as short as he liked. The next person had to quote another poem beginning with the same word as the last word of the poem just quoted. Somehow, I am inclined to think that such a custom is about as entertaining and certainly more intellectually stimulating than watching paid entertainers on television.

Since about 1800 or soon thereafter, there has been even greater literary activity than before. Almost everyone has heard of Halldór Kiljan Laxness who won the Nobel Prize for literature a few years ago for his novel *Independent People*. Recently he has written an almost whimsical account of how Mormonism was preached in Iceland during the latter half of the last century, how the Icelandic Mormons came to Utah, and what happened to them there. As famous as Laxness is, however, there are some who contend that Gunnar Gunnarsson who writes historical novels is the more creative artist. Kristmann Guðmundsson, though not so well known, has produced several really good novels. David Stefánsson, who died just recently, was certainly as great a poet as many whose works are more widely known. Einar Benediktsson and Stephan G. Stephansson (who left Iceland as a young man, lived for several years in North Dakota, and finally moved to Canada) are both poets that can be compared favorably with any living in the English-speaking world during the last century or so. Nor has the short story been neglected. There are at least a dozen Icelandic writers of short fiction that I would rate favorably with most writing in the rest of Europe or the United States. In fact, the short story as a form of artistic expression is vigorously practiced and enthusiastically read and appreciated. Books of short stories actually rival books of poetry in status. This is the more significant when one considers that poetry has long been the favorite form of literature among the Icelanders. In fact, it has sometimes been asserted that almost any Icelander would rather be considered a good poet than be elected prime minister.

Although the Icelanders are very fond of the drama, they have not been as successful in that field as in the novel, the short story, or in poetry. Still, there are at least a half dozen or so Icelandic dramas that deserve high praise. At the present

moment Agnar Thordarsson, the national librarian, probably evidences the greatest promise in this field, but he by no means has the field to himself.

As we said, the original settlers of Iceland arrived between 874 and 930 and were of Scandinavian—principally South-western Norwegian—stock strongly mixed with Celtic and British blood. When they arrived they must have been amazed at the number of geysers and hot springs, for it is unlikely that they had seen such phenomena in Scandinavia or the British Isles. They soon made use of them, however, by diverting their warm water runoff into pools for bathing and swimming or for washing clothes. This trend has continued even to the present day. The whole city of Reykjavík, for example, is now heated by hot water from the boiling springs located just on the outskirts of the city. What a convenience it is to have one's house always at the precise temperature that one desires it, never to have to haul coal or tend the furnace. Hundreds of farmhouses out in the country have also diverted the natural hot water to heat the houses and even the barns. Acres of greenhouses are warmed in a like manner so that roses, carnations; tomatoes, and other flowers and vegetables; and even grapes, figs, and bananas can now be grown inside the greenhouse, while outside the bitter arctic wind may whistle directly down from the north pole. These green houses, although covering many acres, cannot raise enough, however, to affect the economy of the country. Still, they represent a promise of what can be done in the future.

ICELAND'S IMPORTS AND EXPORTS

Because of the location of the country—its northern tip lies just inside the Arctic Circle—and because of excessive rain during the growing season, grains and fruits do not ripen well in Iceland. With negligible exceptions, all grains and fruits and many vegetables must be imported. To pay for these, Iceland exports fish in all forms—fresh, dried, salted, and frozen; meat, especially succulent young lamb; hides and skins; and feathers, particularly eiderdown. Eider ducks are protected by law with a severe fine for anyone who molests them, especially when they are brooding. Nevertheless, over ninety percent of the economy of the country depends upon fish and fish products, that is, cod-liver oil, fish meal, fertilizers, etc.

Recently a small amount of manufacturing has been developed in Iceland principally furniture and carpets. Some amount of processed woolen goods such as ski sweaters, mittens, socks, etc., are exported or sold to tourists, and very recently a modest amount of mining has been done. But still, as we have said, approximately ninety percent of Iceland's exports are fish and fish products with the overwhelming percentage going to Russia. Because of unfavorable trade restrictions the United States imports relatively little.

In addition to utilizing the hot water of the springs and geysers, the Icelanders during the last half century have harnessed the electrical potential of their numerous rivers and waterfalls. The result is that electricity is now so inexpensive in Iceland that Reykjavík and the other major cities are brilliantly lighted even during the long winter nights, while out in the country, houses, which were once dark and gloomy from mid-November to mid-March, are now not only well-lighted both inside and out, but are efficiently and comfortably heated with hot spring water or electricity—whichever is the most convenient in the area. Obviously, this means that cooking over an old-fashioned peat- or turf-burning stove is outmoded. The latest in electric stoves, washing machines, dryers, vacuum cleaners, and even hair dryers, are eagerly purchased by the Icelanders, and today the most remote farmhouse may have the latest in AM-FM radio or an ultramodern TV set by means of which the farmer keeps abreast of the weather and the world news. This may, of course, produce some strange incongruities. The Icelandic housewife may be spinning yarn on a wheel used by her great-grandmother while watching a Perry Mason "who-dun-it" on her ultramodern television set.

As you undoubtedly already know, Iceland is located not quite halfway between Greenland and Norway and is about 40,000 square miles in size, or about one-half the size of Utah. Nearly eighty percent of the land is high mountainous plateau, covered for the most part with barren fields of lava or shifting sands, with elevations reaching up to nearly 7,000 feet. At this latitude—bordering on the Arctic Circle—such plateaus and especially such peaks are completely uninhabitable. In the wintertime they may be covered with ten to twenty feet of snow. At any season of the year the winds are likely to be severe and biting. Most of the people live within a few miles

of the sea, where the modifying effects of one branch of the Gulf Stream produce a climate very much like that of Seattle or British Columbia—damp and rainy, but not excessively cold. Something like two-thirds of the people live on the fertile southern coast stretching from just north of Reykjavík eastward to Myrdal. More than a third of the total population of 200,000, or about 80,000, live in Reykjavík, the capital city, thirty miles north of the U.S. base at Keflavík. Reykjavík is an ultramodern and cosmopolitan city in every respect, with several art museums, excellent theaters and movie houses, three or four daily newspapers, a university, a classical Latin school, a teacher's college, a national library, three or four excellent hotels, and many beautiful homes. Schooling is compulsory through the equivalent of our eighth grade and available to anyone beyond that point who proves himself capable and eager to learn. There is no illiteracy in Iceland.

I sincerely doubt whether there is anyone in this auditorium who does not know that just 121 years ago, in 1847, the Mormon pioneers under the leadership of Brigham Young entered the Great Salt Lake Valley. There may be a few, however, who do not know that scarcely three years later, in 1850, Mormon missionaries from Utah were active in Denmark. Among the nearly 400 converts that they brought into the faith during the next few years were two Icelanders who were in Denmark studying and learning a trade. One of these two young men, Gudmundur Gudmundsson, traveled with the other converts to Zion, arriving in Utah in 1855, the first Icelander, as far as we know, to travel so far west. The other, Thorarin Hafliðason, returned to Iceland to spread the glad tidings of the gospel. He converted several to the faith, but unfortunately, his activities were cut short by his untimely death by drowning only a few months after returning home to Iceland.

It might be mentioned that when Thorarin Hafliðason went back to Iceland after his conversion to the faith about 1853, he was followed by several missionaries who were sent out from Utah. In fact, for over half a century Latter-day Saint missionaries labored in the Land of Song and Saga. Many converts were made and many more Icelanders became friends of the Church, but for one reason or another chose not to join officially.

The momentum gained, however, was continued, and other missionaries took over Hafliðason's work. Of those people con-

verted to the faith, a group of sixteen left for Utah, arriving in 1855. They were led by a man called Samuel Bjarnason. Brigham Young directed them to settle in Spanish Fork where a colony of Scandinavians had already established themselves. This modest group of sixteen were soon joined by others, including my grandparents. During the next twenty or thirty years, forty or so Icelandic families made their way to Utah to augment the Icelandic colony in Spanish Fork, some of them participating in the famous Handcart Brigade. A memorial to this original group of sixteen stands at 3rd South and 8th East in Spanish Fork. It is an artistic and fitting memorial to a group of people who, motivated by faith and a commendable religious zeal, gave up the ties that bound them to the homeland, gave up peace and security, braved the dangers and endured the hardships of pioneering a new area, and established homes in the wilderness.

ICELANDIC INFLUENCES IN UTAH

These Icelandic settlers brought with them the traits of industry, the love of learning, and the endurance and fortitude that have always characterized their race—characteristics that their descendants have preserved and perpetuated. Naturally, they have intermarried, so that now there are few in Utah who are Icelandic on both sides, but they have, nevertheless, contributed generously to the economic, social, and cultural life of their adopted community. They have become good citizens, capable businessmen, respected judges, and leading educators.

About the time of World War I the Icelandic Mission was closed by decision of the Church. I understand that steps are now being taken to reopen this mission. I predict, on the basis of my experience there, that Latter-day Saints will find goodwill and friendship among the Icelanders when the mission is actually opened. This is because so many Icelanders have an Uncle John or an Aunt Sigrid here in Utah and they have experienced and heard little but good of the Latter-day Saints. Others have traveled in the United States, have come to Utah, and have been impressed with what they have seen here. Whatever the number of Latter-day Saints actually living in Iceland at the present time—and they are admittedly few—the Church can count on a firm basis of friendship and goodwill when our missionaries arrive.

The Icelander's philosophy of life has been precisely that which is stated in the excerpt from *Hávamál* which I quoted earlier—namely that what happens physically to the man is unimportant; inevitably he will die and his possessions will pass away; but what good he does for his fellow human beings will be remembered. His memory will be treasured, not for the material possessions that he amasses, but for the great and noble deeds that he accomplishes. Perhaps this is a point of view that we can all take to our hearts and allow to become our guide and lodestone in our dealings with each other. Certainly, such a philosophy will give us greater understanding and sympathy for our fellow human beings and lead us into a more civilized and Christian way of life.

Book Review

C. S. Lewis. *Christian Reflections*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1967. p. 176, \$3.95.

(Reviewed by Eloise Bell, who is an instructor of English at Brigham Young University. She has been interested in C. S. Lewis' work through the years and writes this review having read most of his published work.)

Christian Reflections is not the book by which one should make first acquaintance with its author, C. S. Lewis. But it *is* the most recent book of Lewis' writings, and, as such, a splendid excuse for talking about a man not well enough known in this corner of the vineyard.

The book was not really intended as an introduction. Put together by a friend, Walter Hooper, after Lewis' death, it is a collection of papers, essays, and, in at least one instance, incomplete notes. We can be quite sure that if the author himself had prepared the materials for general publication, there would have been some significant changes, for one of Lewis' greatest gifts was his ability to make every subject he undertook to treat perfectly clear and full of light. Some of the material in *Christian Reflections*, on the other hand, still lacks the final polish that makes transparency of the haze. But that problem is a most minor one for those of us to whom any appearance of new work by C. S. Lewis is cause for celebration.

Mormons generally, I believe, have one of two attitudes toward reading religious writings by non-Mormons. The first attitude is that such extracurricular wanderings are somehow slightly heretical—an idea similar to that expressed by a well-meaning missionary who took me to task once for praying in a non-Mormon chapel—or at least a waste of time—“Have you read everything by the General Authorities first?”

The second attitude toward non-LDS religious writings is that of the reader who wants to be debonair in the truest sense of the word: he wants to be familiar with the ideas and beliefs of other faiths and thus attacks their documents with lively

curiosity and great goodwill. As some men like to be considered well-traveled, this debonair reader likes to be considered well-read in the realm of the religious.

The non-Mormon writer, C. S. Lewis, deserves an approach different from either of these. We should go to him to learn how to be better Christians.

Let no one think I intend to give alarm to the conservatives or license to the the liberals. We should not go to Lewis to learn *what* to believe. Even if we did, we would be disappointed, for he steers clear of this ground with firm determination. In his preface Hooper quotes a letter by Lewis: "When all is said . . . about the divisions of Christendom, remains, by God's mercy, an anonymous common ground." Hooper continues: "From that time on Lewis thought that the best service he could do . . . was to explain and defend the belief that has been common to nearly all Christians at all times—that 'enormous common ground' which he usually referred to as 'mere' Christianity." (p. vii)

The old farmer of the anecdote, in refusing the progressive new implements of the young salesman, said, "Son, I *already* know a heap better than I do." Lewis' great contribution, to Mormons as to any others seeking to follow the Saviour, is that he can help us live better the truths we already espouse. That is the chief reason why *Christian Reflections* is not the book to choose if C. S. Lewis is unknown to you. Its attention is focused a bit less on the how than on the why. To be sure, he still deals with the *why* of the common ground. But there is perhaps a little less here than in most of his books that will enable you to do a better job of living the righteous life tomorrow morning.

And yet . . . And yet . . . ! If Lewis makes any point at all, over and over in his books, it is that righteousness is required in *all* endeavors of a man's life. And if, as it seems to me, the topics in *Christian Reflections* are more subtle and esoteric than Lewis usually treats, they are nonetheless about man's life and his righteous living of it.

Hear him on "*Christianity and Literature*," for example:

The Christian writer may be self-taught or original. He may base his work on the "transitory being" that he is, not because of the "vision" that appeared to it. But if his talents are such that he can produce good work by writing in an established form and dealing with experiences common to all

his race, he will do so just as gladly. . . . And always, of every idea and of every method, he will ask not "Is it mine?", but "Is it good?"

This seems to me the most fundamental difference between the Christian and the unbeliever in their approach to literature. But I think there is another. The Christian will take literature a little less seriously. . . . The unbeliever is always apt to make a kind of religion of his aesthetic experiences. . . . But the Christian knows from the outset that the salvation of a single soul is more important than the production or preservation of all the epics and tragedies in the world. . . . (pp. 9-10)

Lewis will not let us remain "merely intellectual" even when discussing "Church Music." Church music is not just an aesthetic question to be discussed; it is part of our worship, and hence, material for righteous living or its opposite.

In this essay, Lewis discusses the pros and cons of elevating the aesthetic quality of church music or keeping a lesser music that is more familiar and more acceptable to the unmusical congregation. He refers to the musical activity of such a congregation as "shouting" and says that there is no harm in such shouting if the intent on the part of all is the glory of God. But he adds,

The power of shouting stands very low in the hierarchy of natural gifts, and . . . it would be better to learn to sing if we could. . . . It is not the mere ignorance of the unmusical that really resists improvement. It is jealousy, arrogance, suspicion, and the wholly detestable species of conservatism which those vices engender. . . . I do not think it can be the business of the Church greatly to cooperate with the modern state in appeasing inferiority complexes and encouraging the natural man's instinctive hatred of excellence." (pp. 97-98)

(Please note that Lewis does not condemn conservatism in this quotation—only one wrong brand of it. He is himself most conservative.)

Lewis' sincere and practical approach to righteousness is most typically shown in the essay called "Petitionary Prayer: A Problem Without an Answer." Here he thinks about our seemingly paradoxical instructions about prayer, instructions he designates as Pattern A and Pattern B. In Pattern A we are told to pray "Thy will be done," and to pray ever with this qualification in our hearts. But in Pattern B, we are told to

pray with the firm belief that whatever we ask in His name, we will receive. Is it really possible to do both at once—to have a perfect assurance that we will receive whatever we ask, as we are told in John 14:13, and to maintain at the same time the reservation, “not my will, but Thine be done”? Lewis presents some interesting possibilities, but does not give any final answer. Yet, unlike so many modern writers, Lewis *is* looking for an answer. He concludes: “At present I have got no further. . . . How am I to pray this very night?” One is convinced this question is more than rhetoric.

One last example of Lewis’ dominant theme—that all subjects are spiritual subjects, and all decisions are relevant to our spirituality: in the final essay entitled “The Seeing Eye,” he treats the question of space travel and its possible consequences for our theology. For centuries untold men have gazed at the stars and wondered if other rational creatures existed somewhere. With the restoration of the gospel, Mormons received their answer to that question. It is illuminating, however, to see Lewis classify the possibilities inherent in those “worlds without number”—from the unfallen to the totally depraved and back to counterparts of our redeemed selves. As this review is being written, two great powers are planning to send men around the moon. Such a stride will have its manifold scientific, political, and sociological implications. But Lewis’ concern supersedes all these: What efforts will such exploration have upon the souls of men?

If one has not read any of C. S. Lewis, perhaps he should begin with *The Screwtape Letters*, *The Great Divorce*, or *Four Loves*. But it does not really matter. Read any of his works thoughtfully and you will seek out the others, one by one, until you, with the rest of his readers, mourn his untimely death. At that point, you will probably be most grateful to Walter Hooper for giving us *Christian Reflections*.

Klaus J. Hansen. *Quest for Empire*. East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1967. p. 237. \$6.50.

(Reviewed by James R. Clark, who is a professor of religious education at Brigham Young University. As Dr. Clark states in his review, his study has taken him over much the same subject as the book treats.)

This is a review of reviews, a sort of postmortem.

Not that the book is dead. It is very much alive! But there have been so many reviews of this book since it was published by the Michigan State University Press in 1967 that to now write a review would seem almost like picking the bones of last year's Thanksgiving turkey. All of the reviewers seem thankful that Klaus Hansen wrote the book and seem to be agreed that its publication constitutes a definite contribution to Mormon Americana.

The book has been reviewed widely across the United States in such prestigious history journals as *The Journal of American History* (formerly *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*); the *New York Historical Society Quarterly*; *Ohio History*; *Michigan History*; *Arizona and the West*; *Journal of the West*; *Pacific Historical Review*; and *Dialogue*. Its reviewers and their professional qualifications in the field of history are equally impressive.

Davis Bitton, who wrote the review for the *New York Historical Society Quarterly*, is professor of European history at the University of Utah. Charles C. Cole, Jr., who wrote for *Ohio History*, is a professor at Lafayette College. John W. Hakola, of the University of Maine, wrote the review for the *Journal of American History*. Merle W. Wells, archivist and historian of the Idaho Historical Society, contributed the review to *Journal of the West* while A. R. Mortensen, professor of history at the University of Utah, and formerly editor of the *Utah Historical Review*, wrote the review for *Arizona and the West*. The review for the *Pacific Historical Review* was written by a colleague of Dr. Mortensen on the history faculty of the University of Utah, S. Lyman Tyler, formerly librarian of the J. Reuben Clark, Jr., Library at Brigham Young University. B. Carmon Hardy, of the faculty of California State College at Fullerton, California, contributed to this impressive roll of book reviews of Klaus Hansen's work through the pages of *Michigan History*.

The most complete and perhaps the most searching review of *Quest for Empire* to date to come to the attention of the present reviewer is that of Richard D. Poll, professor of history and associate director of the Honors Program at Brigham Young University, which appeared in the Autumn 1967 issue of *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*.

Bitton felt that although the book was one "which no student of early Mormonism can afford to ignore," nevertheless, there were places in the book where an "undue amount of weight had been placed on a few pieces of evidence."

Cole was of the opinion that Hansen had attempted to provide his readers with a "restrained, temperate, objective account of some of the political implications of Mormonism" but that his "style is pedestrian" and its appeal would be largely to specialists in the field of Mormonism.

Wells said that the book was "a distinct contribution to Western history, to Mormon history, and to the history of religious thought of the nineteenth century." He criticized Hansen, and perhaps justifiably, for making his account of the Council of Fifty "a little too much Utah-centered during the later period." What Wells was rightly pointing out is the fact that Idaho history is almost equally important in church-state relations during the western period of Hansen's study.

Mortensen begins his review of Hansen's *Quest for Empire* with this statement: "In many ways this book is one of the most difficult this reviewer has attempted to assess." His rationale for its being difficult to review is that it deals with a subject "about which so many people [even so-called authorities] claim to know so much, and yet in reality know so little." Mortensen maintains that although the book may raise as many questions as it answers, it will be around for a long time.

Unfortunately a copy of Lyman Tyler's review was not available at the time of the present writing. A not unusual experience at the library—"Immediate past issues of *Pacific Historical Review* are at the bindery."

Hardy said in his review that Hansen's study was a "splendid contribution to Mormon scholarship" and indicated that it was "filled with new and interesting illuminations." He claims that *Quest for Empire* "provides the most complete account of the Council of Fifty yet available."

Hakola, of the University of Maine, maintains that *Quest For Empire* is "meticulously researched" and "clearly written," and that is a "significant addition to Mormon history and American intellectual history."

Dr. Richard D. Poll, as mentioned before, has written what appears to the present writer to be the most complete as well as the most searching review of the book yet published.

After quoting a part of a January 1863 message of Governor Brigham Young, of the quasi-state of Deseret, to the legislature of the quasi-government in Utah, Dr. Poll makes this comment in the beginning of his review of Hansen's book:

For many years Mormon historians, including this reviewer, found in this language [of Brigham Young's] nothing more than the typical hyperbole of Brigham Young and frustration at the failure of Deseret's third bid for admission to the Union. Today, thanks to the research of James R. Clark, Dale Morgan, Leonard Arrington, Juanita Brooks, Hyrum Andrus, and now this important work by Klaus J. Hansen, the quoted statement evokes a concept and a theme which often recurs in the history of the LDS Church in the nineteenth century.

Poll maintains, therefore, that while Hansen's book is not a pioneer effort in the field, its contribution does lie in further "exploring the context from which the kingdom concept emerged and in tracing the developing theme in much fuller detail than has been previously done.

Poll's evaluation of some of the weaknesses of the book are couched in such terms as these:

The resort to plausibility when evidence is insufficient or lacking is risky business.

. . . this reviewer believes that Dr. Hansen goes beyond a safe depth in pursuit of some of his minor hypotheses.

The book repeats itself . . . and its tendency to build a larger hypothetical structure than its evidence will sustain has already been mentioned.

Nevertheless, Dr. Poll says of *Quest for Empire*: "This is a well-researched and well-written book."

The present writer first became aware of the problems in Mormon history discussed in *Quest for Empire* during research for his doctoral dissertation on the topic of church-state relations in education in Utah, 1847-1957.

It later developed that Klaus Hansen, as an undergraduate and then as a graduate history major at Brigham Young University, had been working along somewhat similar lines, but with a different emphasis. Both pieces of research, done independently and for the most part unknown to each other, led us both to some of the same conclusions about the importance of the concept of the political kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon history, at least in the early Utah period. Hansen continued his research independently, as did the present writer, with Hansen's research resulting first in a master's thesis at Brigham Young University on the topic, later, a doctoral study and then finally *Quest for Empire*.

My own research, independently, along the same lines, resulted in a presentation of the topic before the Utah Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters, publication in the proceedings of the Utah Academy and also in the *Utah Historical Quarterly* and also the introductory chapters in my doctoral dissertation at Utah State University in 1958, with S. George Ellsworth, professor of history, as dissertation chairman.

Writing from this background, I find that I am in agreement with most of what Hansen says in *Quest for Empire*. I agree with his other reviewers that it is a distinct contribution to Mormon literature and Mormon historical interpretation.

I would caution the reader, however, as did Mr. Poll, against the acceptance of all of Hansen's conclusions, especially those for the pre-exodus period. I cannot agree, for instance, that the evidence Hansen offers establishes the connections he makes between the Council of Fifty as a secret organization and the Danites of the Missouri period. Nor can I yet accept all of his conclusions for the connection between the Council of Fifty, the kingdom of God concept, and the exploration for further settlement in Texas and elsewhere by some of the divergent Mormon groups following the death of Joseph Smith.

I would recommend that the book be in the library, however, of every serious and knowledgeable student of Mormon history.

J. B. PHILLIPS. *Ring of Truth: A Translator's Testimony*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967. 125 pp. \$2.95.

(Reviewed by Richard Lloyd Anderson, professor of history and religion at Brigham Young University. Dr. Anderson, former book review editor of *Brigham Young University Studies*, has specialized in ancient history, New Testament studies, and early Mormon history.)

If Jesus indicted ancient priests for overloading scriptural commands with burdens "grievous to be borne," modern New Testament scholarship also should be indicted for reduplicating the process. After one has glimpsed both the miraculous Christian beginnings and the rugged personal power of Christ and his apostles, serious study then points the path through dense thickets of philology, history, and methodology. Although certain skills are required for an accurate knowledge of the New Testament message, it is an occupational hazard to be so technically proficient that only technicalities are of interest. It is precisely for this reason that J. B. Phillips' *Ring of Truth* is a landmark. After Goodspeed produced his *American Translation* he reviewed his field through a concise but classic discussion of key translation problems. After Phillips produced his *New Testament in Modern English* (the most successful contemporary private translation), he has written a retrospective discussion of another kind. He is concerned with his impressions of the authenticity of the story as judged by the sincerity of the men who made it and wrote about it. This is not a book of scholarship in the conventional sense for it is conspicuously lacking in footnotes, fails to build a case out of extensive data, and is delightfully easy reading. Nevertheless, it is the work of a scholar who after mastering details comes back to the main point of the investigation, the essential meaning of the New Testament.

By a fitting coincidence, Phillips' work of retrospection was published the same year as the posthumous essays of the learned critic C. S. Lewis, who though not intimate with Phillips, gave crucial encouragement at the beginning of his translation work. All of the essays in Lewis' *Christian Reflections* bear thoughtful reading, but his "Modern Theology and Biblical Criticism" challenges the competence of experts in language and history to be also the sole experts in evidential matters: "[W]hile I

respect the learning of the great Biblical critics, I am not yet persuaded that their judgment is equally to be respected."¹ Both Lewis and Phillips react negatively to the present trend in source criticism which insists confidently that the Gospels are records not about the events they portray but really about the mind of the Church a generation or more later. Lewis logically exposed the multiple assumptions of such a position, but Phillips openly claims the spiritual witness that the events of the New Testament story actually happened. He does not belabor the point, but simply states it as a fact of his experience:

I must, in common justice, confess here that for years I had viewed the Greek of the New Testament with a rather snobbish disdain. I had read the best of classical Greek both at school and Cambridge for over ten years. . . . Although I did my utmost to preserve an emotional detachment, I found again and again that the material under my hands was strangely alive; it spoke to my condition in the most uncanny way. I say "uncanny" for want of a better word, but it was a very strange experience to sense, not occasionally but almost continually, the living quality of those rather strangely assorted books. To me it is the more remarkable because I had no fundamentalist upbringing, and although as a priest of the Anglican Church I had a great respect for Holy Scripture, this very close contact of several years of translation produced an effect of "inspiration" which I have never experienced, even in the remotest degree, in any other work (pp. 24-25).

Phillips has done more than list his subjective impressions as a translator, however, since he explains that certain realities force him to the position that the New Testament contains the honest reports of men who saw miracles, including the greatest miracle of the resurrection. Paul, for instance, is a sure witness to what circulated in the Church within two decades after Christ's death; consequently I Corinthians 15 looms as, in some ways, "the most important chapter in the New Testament":

I was struck again by the "over five hundred Christians" who saw Jesus simultaneously, "of whom," Paul comments, "the majority are still alive." The evidence for the Resurrection does not rest on hysterical visions in the half-light of early dawn but on actual "appearances," the last of which seems

¹C. S. Lewis, *Christian Reflections* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans' Publishing Co., 1967), p. 161.

to have happened to Paul. I noticed the flat, matter-of-fact recital of known events. There is no attempt to persuade or prove, and certainly there is no artistic embellishment. Paul is, in effect, saying: these are the historic facts which we know (p. 32).

Many specialists would respond by undercutting the resurrection appearances on the ground of their fragmentary nature compounded by some inconsistency. To Phillips their very lack of sophistication is a mark of their genuineness; admittedly they are not "arranged as evidence for any court of law—or for that matter any critic. I should be highly suspicious of them if they were" (p. 112). The essence of the *Ring of Truth* is the lack of sustained piety of the New Testament record. Its history and letters are not concerned with a public image but with an overpowering story in which the actors are the recognizable mortals that all of us know. Phillips finds this the real ground of credibility—"this curious mixture of the earthly and the heavenly" (p. 110). This is simply to say that since personal patterns are so honestly portrayed by all New Testament writings, there is every reason to suppose that divine revelations are reported with equal integrity. Much more might be done with this human archaeology of the scriptures.

Latter-day Saints will find other facets of Phillips intriguing. He discovered (pp. 69-70) the value of suffering for character building in mortality, "the place where God begins his work of making us into what he wants us to be" (p. 103). He reports that his convictions of immortality were confirmed by two experiences of personal comfort in which the departed C. S. Lewis appeared and spoke brief words of encouragement in the midst of personal despondency. Phillips' most scintillating theme, however, is his reaction against the "processed Jesus." In the place of this mythical and lifeless figure Phillips sees one toughened and disciplined in following the path laid out for him by his Father" (p. 95). This vivid image of Jesus was not Phillips' point of beginning, but a character emerged who "was sudden death to pride, pomposity, and pretense." On purely personal grounds Christ stands as the overwhelming figure of the New Testament "by the sheer strength of a unified and utterly dedicated personality" (p. 86).

Book Note

Four Faith Promoting Classics. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1968. \$3.95.

The marriage of photography and printing has produced the inexpensive but accurate reprint. Four individual volumes of George Q. Cannon's faith-promoting series are so produced. They are portions of what was virtually an oral history project undertaken while many still lived from Joseph Smith's generation, a generation which survived the early persecutions and migrations and left the legacy of the heroic period of missionary work. Since Cannon disclaimed sensationalism as the criterion of selection, his admittedly apologetic purpose was nevertheless combined with simple narratives that are the raw material of history. Consequently, this collection of shorter reminiscences gathers both the miraculous (healings and revelations) and the naturalistic (missions and persecutions) description. Cannon literally saved from oblivion these personal experiences of conversion and service to the latter-day movement, prophetically writing in one preface that "men will seek with avidity" for such firsthand information "but a few years hence." If such a collection is not comprehensive history it is nevertheless the history of faith and the basis for it from those who were eyewitnesses from the beginning. Through this collection the reader may relive the impact of Oliver Cowdery's first testimony that he had seen an angel; experience the defensive indignation that caused two unconverted brothers of Brigham Young to interpose themselves between a menacing group and a missionary, or share in a hundred other memorable events. Hopefully other reproductions will follow, since the original collection contains volumes never reprinted and others not yet photomechanically reprinted.

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TRUMAN G. MADSEN, Guest Editor

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C. Jessee

AWAKENINGS IN THE BURNED-OVER DISTRICT: NEW LIGHT ON
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Backman, Jr.

REVEREND GEORGE LANE—GOOD "GIFTS," MUCH "GRACE," AND
MARKED "USEFULNESS," Larry C. Porter

HOW AUTHENTIC ARE MORMON HISTORIC SITES IN VERMONT
AND NEW YORK? T. Edgar Lyon

THE SHAPING OF THE MORMON MIND IN NEW ENGLAND AND
NEW YORK, Marvin S. Hill

CIRCUMSTANTIAL CONFIRMATION OF THE FIRST VISION THROUGH
REMINISCENCES, Richard L. Anderson

BYU Studies announces the appointment of Dr. Spencer J. Palmer as Book Review Editor and expresses gratitude to Dr. Richard L. Anderson, who has served in that capacity for the past four years. He will remain on the Editorial Board.

BYU Studies also welcomes the following new members to the Editorial Board:

T. Edgar Lyon, Research Historian, Nauvoo Restoration, Inc.

Earl A. Olson, Assistant Church Historian, LDS Historian's Office

Douglas H. Parker, Professor of Law, University of Colorado

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